

DIODORUS OF SICILY

VII

DIODORUS OF SICILY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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Diodorus Siculus

IN TWELVE VOLUMES

VII

BOOKS XV. 20–XVI. 65



CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD
MCMLII

Printed in Great Britain

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ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΠΕΝΤΕΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΗ

20. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Εὐάνδρου[1] Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλιάρχους ἕξ, Κόιντον Σολπίκιον, Γάιον Φάβιον, Κόιντον Σερουίλιον, Πόπλιον Κορνήλιον.[2] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατελάβοντο τὴν Καδμείαν ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις διά τινας τοιαύτας αἰτίας. ὁρῶντες τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἔχουσαν πόλεών τε πλῆθος καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτὴν ἄνδρας ὑπάρχοντας ἀνδρείᾳ διαφόρους, ἔτι δὲ τὰς Θήβας ἐχούσας παλαιὸν ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸ σύνολον ὥσπερ ἀκρόπολίν τινα τῆς Βοιωτίας οὖσαν, εὐλαβοῦντο μήποτε καιροῦ παραφανέντος οἰκείου τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀντιποιήσηται·
2 διόπερ τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται παρήγγελλον

[1] Ἀθήνησιν Εὐάνδρου Meursius (Demosthenes, *Contra Tim.* 138): Ἀθήνησι μὲν Εὐάνδρου P, Ἀθήνησι Μενάνδρου Vulgate.

[2] Κόϊντον σερουΐλιον πόπλιον κορνήλιον P, Σερουίλιον Κορνήλιον A, Σερουίλιον Κορνήλιον Πόπλιον Οὔγωνα Σέξστον Ἄνινον καὶ Γάιον Μάρκον *cet.* Corrected in part from Book 14. 110. 1 and Livy, 5. 36.

[1] Only four mentioned by name—a frequent inconsistency.

[2] Sparta had been successful in stripping Thebes of much of her strength in Boeotia by dissolving the Boeotian League

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OF

DIODORUS OF SICILY

BOOK XV

20. When Evander was archon at Athens, the 382/1 B.C.
Romans elected six[1] military tribunes with consular power, Quintus Sulpicius, Gaius Fabius, Quintus Servilius, Publius Cornelius. During their term of office, the Lacedaemonians took possession of the Cadmeia in Thebes for the following reasons. Seeing that Boeotia had a large number of cities and that her inhabitants were men of outstanding valour, while Thebes,[2] still retaining her renown of ancient times, was, generally speaking, the citadel of Boeotia, they were mindful of the danger that Thebes, if a suitable occasion arose, might claim the leadership of Greece. Accordingly the Spartans gave secret instructions[3]

at the time of the King's Peace. Thebes was beginning to assert her strength again by withholding the help due Sparta in her action against Olynthus (see Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 2. 27).

[3] Diodorus alone speaks of these secret instructions which have no existence in Xenophon's fuller account. In fact Xenophon expressly says (5. 2. 32) ὅτι οὐ προσταχθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα ἐπεπράχει. But then we must remember Xenophon's pro-Spartan bias. Plutarch, *Agesilaüs*, 23, 24, virtually admits the complicity of Agesilaüs, and Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 5. 298, accepts the notion of a secret commission, as does Laistner, *The Greek World from 479 to 323 B.C.*, p. 190.

ἐν ἀπορρήτοις, ἵν' ἐάν ποτε καιρὸν λάβωσι καταλάβωνται τὴν Καδμείαν. τοιαύτης δὲ γενομένης παραγγελίας, Φοιβίδας ὁ Σπαρτιάτης, τεταγμένος ἐπί τινος ἡγεμονίας καὶ δύναμιν ἄγων ἐπὶ Ὀλυνθίους, κατελάβετο τὴν Καδμείαν. ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ μεθ' ὅπλων συνδραμόντων, συνάψας μάχην αὐτοῖς καὶ νικήσας τριακοσίους μὲν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν Θηβαίων ἐφυγάδευσε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς καταπληξάμενος καὶ φρουρὰν ἰσχυρὰν ἐγκαταστησάμενος, ἐπὶ τὰς ἰδίας πράξεις ἀπηλλάγη. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τὴν πρᾶξιν ταύτην ἀδοξοῦντες παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι, τὸν μὲν Φοιβίδαν ἐζημίωσαν χρήμασι, τὴν δὲ φρουρὰν οὐκ
3 ἐξῆγον ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν· οἱ μὲν οὖν Θηβαῖοι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τὴν αὐτονομίαν ἀποβαλόντες ἠναγκάσθησαν ὑποταγῆναι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις· τῶν δ' Ὀλυνθίων διαπολεμούντων πρὸς Ἀμύνταν τὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα, Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν μὲν Φοιβίδαν ἀπέστησαν τῆς ἡγεμονίας, Εὐδαμίδαν δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Φοιβίδα κατέστησαν στρατηγόν. δόντες δ' αὐτῷ τρισχιλίους ὁπλίτας ἐξαπέστειλαν διαπολεμήσοντα[1] τὸν πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους πόλεμον.[2]

21. Οὗτος δ' ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Ὀλυνθίων κοινῇ μετ' Ἀμύντου διεπολέμει πρὸς

[1] διαπολεμήσοντα] πολεμήσοντα Vogel (cp. chap. 19. 3).
[2] τὸν πρὸς Ὀλ. πόλεμον (see chap. 23. 2): τοὺς Ὀλ. πόλεμον P, τοὺς Ὀλ. πολέμους AF, τοὺς πρὸς Ὀλ. πολέμους K, τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς Ὀλ. πολέμους L.

[1] See Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 2. 25-31.
[2] The reaction of the Greek world and the punishment of Phoebidas are recounted in Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 126;

to their commanders, if ever they found an opportunity, to take possession of the Cadmeia. Acting under these instructions, Phoebidas the Spartan, who had been assigned to a command and was leading an expeditionary force against Olynthus, seized the Cadmeia.[1] When the Thebans, resenting this act, gathered under arms, he joined battle with them and after defeating them exiled three hundred of the most eminent Thebans. Then after he had terrorized the rest and had stationed a strong garrison in the Cadmeia, he went off on his own business. For this act the Lacedaemonians, being now discredited in the eyes of the Greeks,[2] punished Phoebidas with a fine but would not remove the garrison from Thebes. So the Thebans in this way lost their independence and were compelled to take orders from the Lacedaemonians. As the Olynthians continued the war against Amyntas,[3] king of the Macedonians, the Lacedaemonians relieved Phoebidas of his command, and installed Phoebidas' brother Eudamidas as general. Giving him three thousand hoplites, they dispatched him to carry on the war against the Olynthians. 382/1 B.C.

21. Eudamidas[4] struck into the territory of the Olynthians and, in conjunction with Amyntas, continued to wage war upon the Olynthians. Thereupon

Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 4. 1; Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 6 and *De Genio Socratis*, 576 A; Nepos, *Pelopidas*, 1; and Polybius, 4. 27. 4.
[3] This was Amyntas III, king of Macedonia 393–369. Through the opposition of a pretender Argaeüs and the Illyrians, Amyntas had been confined to a small portion of his realm. By the aid of the Thessalians he had succeeded in ousting Argaeüs. Amyntas now looked for help from Sparta to recover the lost portion of his kingdom. (See Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 2. 11-19 and chap. 19.)
[4] According to Xenophon (*Hell.* 5. 2. 24), Eudamidas was sent against the Olynthians before the occupation of the Cadmeia.

Ὀλυνθίους. εἶθ' οἱ μὲν Ὀλύνθιοι δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον ἠθροικότες ἐπλεονέκτουν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, στρατιώτας πλείους ἔχοντες τῶν πολεμίων· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον προχειρισάμενοι κατέστησαν στρατηγὸν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Τελευτίαν. οὗτος δ' ἦν ἀδελφὸς μὲν Ἀγησιλάου τοῦ βασιλέως, θαυμαζόμενος δ' ἐπ' ἀρετῇ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις.

2 ἀναζεύξας οὖν μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου καὶ καταντήσας πλησίον τῆς Ὀλυνθίων παρέλαβε τοὺς μετὰ Εὐδαμίδου στρατιώτας. γενόμενος δὲ ἀξιόμαχος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τὴν τῶν Ὀλυνθίων χώραν ἐδῄωσε, καὶ συναγαγὼν πλῆθος λείας ἐμέρισε τοῖς στρατιώταις· τῶν δὲ Ὀλυνθίων μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων πανδημεὶ παραταξαμένων συνῆψε μάχην. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἰσορρόπου τοῦ κινδύνου γενομένου διεχωρίσθησαν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γενομένης μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς, αὐτός τε ὁ Τελευτίας ἔπεσε λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος, καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνῃρέθησαν πλείους τῶν χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων.

3 τηλικαύτης δ' εὐημερίας γενομένης τοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις, οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, βουλόμενοι διορθώσασθαι τὸ γεγονὸς ἐλάττωμα, δυνάμεις ἁδροτέρας ἐκπέμπειν παρεσκευάζοντο, οἱ δὲ Ὀλύνθιοι, νομίζοντες μείζοσι δυνάμεσιν ἥξειν τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἔσεσθαι πολυχρόνιον,[1] σίτου τε παρασκευὰς ἀξιολόγους ἐποιοῦντο καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων στρατιώτας προσελαμβάνοντο.

22. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Δημοφίλου Ῥωμαῖοι ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλιάρχους κατέστησαν Πόπλιον Κορνήλιον, Λεύκιον Οὐεργίνιον, Λεύκιον Παπίριον, Μάρκον Φούριον, Οὐαλέριον, Αὖλον

[1] πολυχρόνιον Wesseling : πολὺν χρόνον.

the Olynthians, who had collected a considerable 382/1 B.C.
force, had the better in the field because they had more soldiers than the enemy ; but the Lacedaemonians, having made ready a considerable force, appointed Teleutias general in charge of it. Teleutias was brother of King Agesilaüs and was greatly admired for his valour by his fellow citizens. He accordingly set out from the Peloponnese with an army and on arriving near the territory of the Olynthians took over the soldiers commanded by Eudamidas. Being now a match for the enemy, he began by plundering the Olynthian territory and dividing among his troops the booty that he had collected ; but when the Olynthians and their allies in full force took the field, he gave battle. At first they drew apart after an even contest, but later a stubborn battle was fought in which Teleutias himself fell after a splendid fight and the Lacedaemonians lost more than twelve hundred men.[1] After the Olynthians had met with so remarkable a success, the Lacedaemonians, wishing to repair the loss they had sustained, prepared to send out more numerous forces, while the Olynthians, judging that the Spartans would come with larger forces and that the war would last for a long time, prepared large supplies of grain and procured additional soldiers from their allies.

22. When Demophilus was archon at Athens, the 381/0 B.C.
Romans elected as military tribunes with consular power Publius Cornelius, Lucius Verginius, Lucius Papirius, Marcus Furius, Valerius, Aulus Manlius,

[1] See Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 2. 37–3. 6.

2 Μάλλιον, Λεύκιον καὶ Ποστούμιον.[1] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν στρατηγὸν προχειρισάμενοι Ἀγησίπολιν τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ δύναμιν ἱκανὴν παραδόντες, ἐψηφίσαντο πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους πολεμεῖν.[2] οὗτος δὲ καταντήσας εἰς τὴν τῶν Ὀλυνθίων χώραν καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς προϋπάρχοντας ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ στρατιώτας διεπολέμει πρὸς τοὺς ἐγχωρίους. οἱ δ' Ὀλύνθιοι μεγάλην μὲν μάχην οὐδεμίαν κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν συνεστήσαντο, ἀκροβολισμοὺς δὲ καὶ βραχείας συμπλοκὰς ποιούμενοι διετέλεσαν, καταπεπληγμένοι τὴν μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δύναμιν.

23. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἦν ἄρχων[3] Πυθέας, ἐν Ῥώμῃ δ' ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλίαρχοι ἓξ κατεστάθησαν, Τίτος Κοΐνκτιος,[4] Λεύκιος Σερουίλιος, Λεύκιος Ἰούλιος, Ἀκύλλιος,[4] Λεύκιος[5] Λοκρήτιος,[6] Σερούιος[7] Σουλπίκιος, παρὰ δὲ Ἠλείοις ὀλυμπιὰς ἤχθη ἑκατοστή, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα
2 στάδιον Διονυσόδωρος Ταραντῖνος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀγησίπολις ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ, βασιλεύσας ἔτη δεκατέσσαρα· τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος Κλεόμβροτος ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ἐννέα. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Πολυβιάδαν[8] στρατηγὸν καταστήσαντες ἐξαπέστειλαν
3 εἰς τὸν πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους πόλεμον. οὗτος δὲ παραλαβὼν τὰς δυνάμεις, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐνεργῶς ἅμα καὶ στρατηγικῶς διοικῶν, ἐποίει πολλὰ προτερήματα. αἰεὶ δὲ μᾶλλον εὐημερῶν καὶ πλείοσι μάχαις

[1] Οὐαλέριον . . . Ποστούμιον Vogel: οὐαλλέριον . . . ποστόμιον P, Μάρκον . . . Οὐαλέριον and Λεύκιον . . . Ποστούμιον omitted by A, the other MSS. add Κόιντον (see Livy, 6. 1).

[2] πολεμεῖν Unger, Vogel: πόλεμον.

[3] ἦν ἄρχων Vogel: ἦρχε LJ.

[4] Κοΐνκτος for MSS. Κόιντιος, Ἀκύλλιος for Ἀκύλιος Vogel.

Lucius and Postumius. During their term of office 381/0 B.C.
the Lacedaemonians appointed as general Agesipolis their king, gave him an adequate army, and voted to make war on the Olynthians.[1] On his arrival in Olynthian territory, he took under his command the soldiers previously encamped there and continued the war against the inhabitants. The Olynthians, however, engaged in no important battle this year, but to the end fought only by exchanges of missiles and short engagements, being in awe of the strength of the king's army.

23. At the close of the year Pythias was archon 380/79 B.C.
at Athens, and at Rome six military tribunes with consular power were elected, Titus Quinctius, Lucius Servilius, Lucius Julius, Aquilius, Lucius Lucretius, and Servius Sulpicius; and in this year the Eleians celebrated the hundredth Olympiad, at which Dionysodorus of Tarentum won the stadium race. During their term of office Agesipolis, king of the Lacedaemonians, died of illness[2] after a reign of fourteen years; Cleombrotus his brother succeeded to the throne and reigned for nine years.[3] The Lacedaemonians appointed Polybiadas general and sent him to the war against the Olynthians. He took over the forces, and, prosecuting the war vigorously and with able generalship, was often superior. With ever-increasing success, after several victories, he reduced

[1] See Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 3. 8, 9.

[2] See Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 3. 18-20.

[3] Cp. *infra*, chap. 55. 5.

[5] Λεύκιος P] Δέκιος *cet.*

[6] Λοκρήτιος Vogel: Λουκρήτιος.

[7] Σερούιος Rhodoman (cp. Livy, 6. 4): Σερουίλιος P, omitted by A, Ἄγκος καὶ Σερουίλιος *cet.*

[8] Πολυβιάδαν Wesseling (cp. Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 3. 20): Πολυκίδαν A, Πολυβίδαν *cet.*

νικήσας συνέκλεισε τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους εἰς πολιορκίαν·
τέλος δὲ καταπληξάμενος τοὺς πολεμίους προσέτα-
ξεν ὑποταγῆναι Λακεδαιμονίοις. ἐγγραφέντων δὲ
τῶν Ὀλυνθίων εἰς τὴν τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν συμμαχίαν,
πολλαὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων ἔσπευσαν εἰς τὴν
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγεμονίαν καταλεχθῆναι. διὸ
καὶ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς πλεῖστον ἴσχυσαν
Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔσχον τὴν ἡγεμο-
4 νίαν κατὰ γῆν ἅμα καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. Θηβαῖοι
μὲν γὰρ ὑπῆρχον ἔμφρουροι, Κορίνθιοι δὲ καὶ
Ἀργεῖοι διὰ τοὺς προγεγονότας πολέμους ὑπῆρχον
τεταπεινωμένοι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ διὰ τὰς[1] τῶν κατα-
πολεμουμένων[2] κληρουχίας ἠδόξουν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλ-
λησιν· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῆς τε πολυανθρωπίας
καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις μελέτης πολλὴν πρόνοιαν
ἐπεποίηντο, καὶ φοβεροὶ πᾶσιν ὑπῆρχον διὰ τὴν
5 δύναμιν τῆς ἡγεμονίας. διόπερ οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν
τότε δυναστῶν, λέγω δὲ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα καὶ
τὸν Σικελίας δυνάστην Διονύσιον, ἐθεράπευον τὴν
Σπαρτιατῶν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν ἔσπευδον
συντίθεσθαι πρὸς αὐτούς.

24. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Νίκωνος Ῥω-
μαῖοι χιλιάρχους ἓξ ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων κατέστησαν,
Λεύκιον Παπίριον, Γάιον Σερουίλιον,[3] Λεύκιον
Κοΐνκτιον, Λεύκιον Κορνήλιον, Λεύκιον Οὐαλέριον,

[1] τὰς Wesseling : τῆς. [2] So Reiske : πολεμουμένων.
[3] Σερουίλιον P] Κορνήλιον.

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[1] See Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 3. 26.
[2] See Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 3. 27.
[3] The sending of κληροῦχοι or settlers from Athens to the territory of her subjects to serve as garrison and owners of the soil was one of the grievances against Athens in the eyes of her subjects during her fifth-century empire.

the Olynthians to a state of siege. In the end he 380/79 B.C.
thoroughly cowed his enemies and forced them to become subjects of the Lacedaemonians.[1] With the enrolment of the Olynthians in the Spartan alliance many other states likewise were eager to enlist under the Lacedaemonian standard. As a result the Lacedaemonians at this particular juncture reached their greatest power and won the overlordship of Greece on both land and sea.[2] For the Thebans were secured by a garrison ; the Corinthians and the Argives were safely humbled as a result of the previous wars ; the Athenians, because of their policy of occupying with colonists the lands of those whom they subdued,[3] had a bad reputation with the Greeks ; the Lacedaemonians, however, had given their constant attention to securing a large population [4] and practice in the use of arms, and so were become an object of terror to all because of the strength of their following. Consequently the greatest rulers of that time, the Persian King and Dionysius [5] the tyrant of Sicily, paid court to the Spartan overlordship and sought alliance with them.

24. When Nicon was archon at Athens, the Romans 379/8 B.C.
elected six military tribunes with consular power, Lucius Papirius, Gaius Servilius, Lucius Quinctius, Lucius Cornelius, Lucius Valerius, and Aulus Manlius.

[4] This must refer to the "perioeci," free inhabitants of Laconia, not Spartans, and to the Helots, Spartan serfs, who tilled the land for their masters. The population of true Spartiatae was constantly on the wane owing to the accumulation of land in a few hands and the resulting inability of ever greater numbers of citizens to contribute their share of products from the soil to the general mess or syssitia. Those who failed to make their contributions were degraded, i.e. became "hypomeiones," though they still served as soldiers.
[5] See Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 126, *Peace*, 99, *Archidamus*, 63.

Αὖλον Μάλλιον.[1] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Καρχηδόνιοι στρατεύσαντες εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τοῖς μὲν Ἱππωνιάταις ἐκπεπτωκόσιν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποκατέστησαν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πάντας τοὺς πεφευγότας συναγαγόντες
2 πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῶν ἐποιήσαντο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα λοιμικῆς νόσου τοῖς κατοικοῦσι τὴν Καρχηδόνα γενομένης, καὶ τῆς νόσου πολλὴν ἐπίτασιν ἐχούσης, πολλοὶ τῶν Καρχηδονίων διεφθάρησαν, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκινδύνευσαν ἀποβαλεῖν· οἵ τε γὰρ Λίβυες καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν, οἵ τε τὴν Σαρδόνα κατοικοῦντες, νομίσαντες ἔχειν καιρὸν κατὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ συμφρονήσαντες ἐπέθεντο τοῖς Καρχη-
3 δονίοις. ἐγένετο δὲ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν θεόπεμπτός τις ἀτυχία κατὰ τὴν Καρχηδόνα· ταραχαὶ γὰρ καὶ φόβοι καὶ πανικοὶ θόρυβοι συνεχεῖς ἐγίνοντο κατὰ τὴν πόλιν παράδοξοι, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐξεπήδων ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν, ὡς πολεμίων εἰσπεπτωκότων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὡς πολεμίους διαπολεμοῦντες, οὓς μὲν ἀνῄρουν, οὓς δὲ κατετραυμάτιζον. τέλος δὲ θυσίαις τὸ θεῖον ἐξιλασάμενοι καὶ μόγις τῶν[2] κακῶν ἀπαλλαγέντες, ταχὺ καὶ τοὺς Λίβυας κατεπολέμησαν καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἀνεκτήσαντο.

25. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Ναυσινίκου Ῥωμαῖοι χιλιάρχους τέσσαρας ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων κατέστησαν, Μάρκον Κορνήλιον καὶ Κόιντον Σερουίλιον,[3] Μάρκον Φούριον καὶ Λεύκιον Κοΐνκτιον.[4]

[1] Κοΐνκτιον . . . Μάλλιον P] Μάλλιον A, Μάλλιον Γάιον Σερουίλιον Οὐαλέριον Αὖλον καὶ Κόιντον Φάβιον *cet.*

[2] μόγις τῶν Dindorf: μεγίστων.

[3] Κόιντον Σερουίλιον P] Σερούιον Κοίντιον A, Σερουίλιον Κοίντιον *cet.*

During their term of office the Carthaginians invaded Italy and restored their city to the Hipponiatae[1] who had been exiled from it, and, having gathered together all the refugees, they showed themselves very solicitous of their welfare. After this a plague broke out among the inhabitants of Carthage which was so violent and took off so many of the Carthaginians that they risked losing their commanding position. For the Libyans, undervaluing them, seceded, and the Sardinians, thinking they now had an opportunity to oppose the Carthaginians, revolted, and, making common cause, attacked the Carthaginians. And about the same time a supernatural disaster befell Carthage; for turmoils and fears and panicky disturbances constantly occurred throughout the city defying explanation; and many men rushed from their houses in arms, having the impression that enemies had burst into the city, and they fought constantly with one another as if with enemies, killing some and wounding others. Finally, after having propitiated the deity by sacrifices and with difficulty rid themselves of their misfortunes, they quickly subdued the Libyans and recovered the island of Sardinia. 379/8 B.C.

25. When Nausinicus was archon at Athens, the Romans elected four military tribunes with consular power, Marcus Cornelius, Quintus Servilius, Marcus Furius, and Lucius Quinctius. During their term of 378/7 B.C.

[1] The city of Hipponium on the west coast of Bruttium in Italy had been captured by Dionysius, its citizens transferred to Syracuse, and its land to the Locrians (see Book 14. 107. 2). Apparently the Carthaginians were trying to cultivate the exiles as allies in Italy against Dionysius.

[4] Κοΐντιον Vogel (cp. Livy, 6. 6): κοΐκτιον P, Κόικτον F, Κοΐντον *cet.* (except A which omits).

ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ὁ κληθεὶς Βοιωτικὸς πόλεμος ἐνέστη Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. τὴν Καδμείαν φρουρούντων Λακεδαιμονίων ἀδίκως καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἀνδρῶν πεφυγαδευκότων, συνεστράφησαν οἱ φυγάδες, καὶ συνεπιλαβομένων Ἀθηναίων κατῆλθον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα νυκτός.
2 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονοῦντας ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις οἰκίαις ἐφόνευσαν, ἔτι κοιμωμένους καταλαβόντες· ἔπειτα τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν παρακαλέσαντες συνεργοὺς ἔσχον ἅπαντας τοὺς Θηβαίους. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους συνδραμόντος μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων, ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ τὴν Καδμείαν πολιορ-
3 κεῖν ἐπεχείρησαν. οἱ δὲ φρουροῦντες τὴν ἄκραν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων ὄντες οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων, εἰς μὲν τὴν Σπάρτην ἐξέπεμψαν τοὺς δηλώσοντας τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων ἐπανάστασιν καὶ βοηθεῖν τὴν ταχίστην παρακαλέσοντας, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐκ τόπων ὑπερδεξίων ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας πολλοὺς μὲν ἀν-
4 ῄρουν οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ κατετραυμάτιζον. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι μεγάλην δύναμιν προσδοκῶντες ἥξειν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐξέπεμψαν πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ὑπομιμνήσκοντες μὲν ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ συγκατήγαγον τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα τυράννων κατεδουλώθησαν, ἀξιοῦντες δὲ πανδημεὶ βοηθῆσαι καὶ πρὸ τῆς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων παρουσίας συνεκπολεμῆσαι τὴν Καδμείαν.

[1] Fuller accounts are found in Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 4. 2-12; Nepos, *Pelopidas*, 3; Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 7-12 and *De Genio Socratis*, 596. Criticism of these accounts in von Stern, *Gesch. d. spartan. u. theban. Hegemonie*, 44 ff. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], 3. 2. 234, gives the date as December 379.

office what is known as the Boeotian War broke out between the Lacedaemonians and the Boeotians for the following reasons. When the Lacedaemonians maintained a garrison unjustly in the Cadmeia and had exiled many important citizens, the exiles gathered together, secured the support of the Athenians, and returned by night to their native city. Having first slain in their own houses those who favoured the Lacedaemonian cause, whom they surprised while still asleep,[1] they next rallied the citizens to the cause of freedom and obtained the co-operation of all the Thebans. When the populace had quickly assembled under arms, at daybreak they attempted to assault the Cadmeia. The Lacedaemonians who formed the garrison of the citadel, numbering with their allies not less than fifteen hundred, sent men to Sparta to announce the insurrection of the Thebans and to urge them to send help as soon as possible. Favoured by their position, they slew many of the attackers and wounded severely no small number. The Thebans, anticipating the arrival of a large army from Greece to aid the Lacedaemonians, dispatched envoys to Athens to remind them that they too once aided in restoring the democracy of the Athenians at the time when the Athenians had been enslaved by the Thirty Tyrants,[2] and to request the Athenians to come with all their forces and assist them in reducing the Cadmeia before the arrival of the Lacedaemonians. 378/7 B.C.

[2] The Thirty Tyrants, established after the fall of Athens, 404, by Lysander of Sparta, were headed by Critias and Theramenes, the latter judicially murdered by Critias. Exiles of the democratic régime received help from Thebes to overthrow this tyranny.

26. Ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων διακούσας τῶν
πρέσβεων ἐψηφίσατο παραχρῆμα δύναμιν ὡς πλεί-
στην ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν ἐλευθερώσουσαν τὰς Θήβας,
ἅμα μὲν τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀποδιδοὺς τὰς χάριτας ἅμα
δὲ βουλόμενος τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἐξιδιώσασθαι καὶ
συναγωνιστὰς ἰσχυροὺς ἔχειν κατὰ τῆς Λακεδαι-
μονίων ὑπεροχῆς· τὸ γὰρ ἔθνος τοῦτο καὶ πλήθει
τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ κατὰ πόλεμον οὐδενὸς
2 τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν[1] ἐδόκει λείπεσθαι. τέλος δὲ Δημο-
φῶν κατασταθεὶς στρατηγός, καὶ παραχρῆμα πεν-
τακισχιλίους ὁπλίτας καὶ πεντακοσίους ἱππεῖς
καταλέξας, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τὴν δύναμιν ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ
προήγαγεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ δρομαῖος ἠπείγετο,
φθάσαι σπεύδων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους· οὐδὲν δ'
ἧττον ὁ δῆμος παρεσκευάζετο πανδημεὶ στρατεύειν
3 εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐὰν ᾖ χρεία. ὁ δὲ Δημοφῶν
συντόμοις[2] ταῖς ὁδοῖς χρησάμενος παραδόξως ἐπε-
φάνη τοῖς Θηβαίοις. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων
πόλεων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Βοιωτίαν πολλῶν στρατιω-
τῶν συνδραμόντων, ταχὺ μεγάλη δύναμις ἠθροίσθη
4 τοῖς Θηβαίοις. ὁπλῖται μὲν γὰρ συνῆλθον οὐκ
ἐλάττους τῶν μυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ

[1] So Dindorf: Ἑλλήνων.
[2] *συντόμοις* Dindorf: *συντόμως*.

26. The Athenian people heard the ambassadors 378/7 B.C.
through to the end and voted [1] to dispatch immediately as large a force as possible for the liberation of Thebes, thus repaying their obligation for the former service and at the same time moved by a desire to win the Boeotians to their side and to have in them a powerful partner in the contest against the superiority of the Lacedaemonians. For the Boeotian was reputed to be inferior to none of the Greek nations in the number of its men and in military valour. Finally Demophon, who had been made general, and had immediately raised a levy of five thousand hoplites and five hundred horse, on the following day at dawn led forth his troops from the city, and pressed on at full speed in an effort to outstrip the Lacedaemonians; but the Athenians none the less went on with their preparations for an expedition into Boeotia with all their forces in case of need. Demophon by taking cross-country paths appeared unexpectedly before Thebes. And since many soldiers likewise came hurriedly together from the other cities of Boeotia, there was quickly assembled a great army for the support of the Thebans. For not less than twelve thousand hoplites and more than

[1] Only Deinarchus, *Against Demosthenes*, 39, mentions a vote of the Athenians. Most modern historians (Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* [2], 3. 1. 146, Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 5. 924, notes, and Cary, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 67) accept the account in Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 4. 19, which insists on the private nature of the assistance afforded Thebes by Athens and the punishment by the people of the two generals who were rash enough to give

that assistance, one of whom was executed and the other exiled. Glotz in his *Hist. gr.*, though generally inclined to give more weight to Diodorus, here speaks of "volontaires athéniens." In the same vein von Stern, *Gesch. d. spartan. u. theban. Hegemonie*, 44 ff., *Xenophons Hellenika und die boiotische Geschichtsüberlieferung*. For the contrary view see E. Fabricius, "Die Befreiung Thebens" in *Rheinisches Museum* 48 (1893), 448 ff., and W. Judeich, "Athen und Theben vom Königsfrieden bis zur Schlacht bei Leuktra" in *Rheinisches Museum* 76 (1927), 171 ff. Cp. also A. O. Prickard, *The Return of the Theban Exiles (379/8 B.C.)*.

πλείους τῶν δισχιλίων. πάντων δὲ προθύμως ἐπὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ὁρμησάντων διελόμενοι τὰ πλήθη τὰς προσβολὰς ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐποιοῦντο, προσκαρτεροῦντες τοῖς κινδύνοις συνεχῶς καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νυκτός.

27. Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ φρουροῦντες[1] παρακληθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων εὐρώστως ἠμύνοντο τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐλπίζοντες συντόμως ἥξειν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως. ἕως μὲν οὖν εἶχον τροφὰς ἱκανάς, ἐνεκαρτέρουν τοῖς δεινοῖς, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιορκούντων ἀπέκτεινον καὶ κατετραυμάτιζον, συνεργὸν ἔχοντες τὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ὀχυρότητα· ὡς δ' ἡ μὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων σπάνις ἐπέτεινεν, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ περὶ τὰς παρασκευὰς ὄντες ἐχρόνιζον, ἐστασίαζον πρὸς ἀλλή-
2 λους. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέχρι θανάτου καρτερεῖν ᾤοντο δεῖν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμαχίδων πόλεων συστρατεύσαντες, ὄντες πολλαπλάσιοι, παραδιδόναι τὴν Καδμείαν ἀπεφήναντο· συνηναγκάσθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς Σπάρτης, ὄντες ὀλίγοι, παραχωρῆσαι τῆς ἀκροπόλεως. διόπερ οὗτοι μὲν ὑπόσπονδοι καθ' ὁμολογίαν ἀφεθέντες
3 εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἀπηλλάγησαν, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δυνάμεσιν ἀξιολόγοις προσιόντες ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας, καὶ βραχὺ τῶν καιρῶν ὑστερήσαντες, ἄπρακτον ἔσχον τὴν ἐπιβολήν. τοὺς δὲ ἡγεμόνας τῆς φρουρᾶς τρεῖς ὄντας μετέστησαν[2] εἰς κρίσιν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν δύο κατεδίκασαν θανάτῳ, τὸν μέντοι τρίτον τοσούτῳ πλήθει χρημάτων ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι
4 τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ τοσαῦτα χρήματα ἐκτῖσαι. μετὰ

[1] φρουροῦντες Dindorf: οἰκοῦντες (deleted by Madvig).
[2] μετέστησαν] Vogel defends (cp. Book 13. 64. 6 and 75. 8); κατέστησαν Bekker, Dindorf.

two thousand horse were assembled. And since they 378/7 B.C. were one and all eager for the siege, dividing their forces they kept making their assaults in relays, maintaining a persistent attack at all times both day and night.

27. The garrison in the Cadmeia under the exhortations of their commanders stoutly defended themselves against their adversaries, expecting that the Lacedaemonians would come shortly with a large army. Now as long as they had sufficient food, they held out stubbornly against the attacks and slew and wounded many of their besiegers, supported by the strength of the citadel; but when the scarcity of provisions increased and the Lacedaemonians, occupied in mustering forces, were long in coming, dissension spread amongst them. For the Lacedaemonians among them thought they should hold out till death, while their partners in war from the allied cities, who were many times their number, declared themselves for surrendering the Cadmeia. Under such compulsion even the men from Sparta itself, who were but few, joined in the evacuation of the citadel. These therefore capitulated on terms and returned to the Peloponnese; but the Lacedaemonians advanced with a considerable force on Thebes, and, coming just too late, were unsuccessful in their attack.[1] They put on trial the three officers of the garrison, sentenced two to death, and inflicted so heavy a fine upon the third that his estate could not pay it. Subsequently the

[1] Cp. Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 4. 13-18. Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 13.

δὲ ταῦτ' Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, Θηβαῖοι δὲ Θεσπιὰς πολιορκήσαντες ἄπρακτον ἔσχον τὴν ἐπιβολήν.

Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν[1] ἐπὶ ἀτελείᾳ πεντακοσίους ἀποίκους εἰς Σαρδονίαν[2] ἀπέστειλαν.

28. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Καλλέου[3] Ῥωμαῖοι χιλιάρχους ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων κατέστησαν τέτταρας, Λεύκιον Παπίριον, Μάρκον Πόπλιον, Τίτον Κορνήλιον, Κόιντον[4] Λεύκιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπταικότων περὶ τὰς Θήβας, οἱ μὲν Βοιωτοὶ θαρρήσαντες συνεστράφησαν, καὶ κοινὴν συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενοι, δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον συνεστήσαντο, προσδοκῶντες ἥξειν τοὺς Λακεδαι-
2 μονίους μεγάλαις δυνάμεσιν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν. Ἀθη-
ναῖοι δὲ πρέσβεις τοὺς ἀξιολογωτάτους τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐξέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τεταγμένας πόλεις, παρακαλοῦντες ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας. οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς δυνάμεως ὑπεροπτικῶς καὶ βαρέως ἦρχον τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων· διόπερ πολλοὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς τεταγμένων ἀπ-
3 έκλινον πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. πρῶτοι δὲ πρὸς
τὴν ἀπόστασιν ὑπήκουσαν Χῖοι καὶ Βυζάντιοι, καὶ μετὰ τούτους Ῥόδιοι καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὲς νησιωτῶν· αἰεὶ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐξομένης τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁρμῆς πολλαὶ πόλεις προσέθεντο

[1] μὲν] omitted by Dindorf.
[2] Σαρδονίαν] Wesseling suggests *Satricum*.
[3] Corrected from Kirchner, *Pros. Att.* no. 7766 : Καλλίου.
[4] Κόιντον Vogel : κύντον P, καὶ Κόιντον FJK.

Athenians returned home, and the Thebans assailed 378/7 B.C.
Thespiae but were unsuccessful in their attack.

While these things were taking place in Greece, the Romans dispatched five hundred colonists, who were to be exempt from taxes, to Sardinia.[1]

28. When Calleas was archon at Athens, the 377/6 B.C.
Romans elected as military tribunes with consular power four men, Lucius Papirius, Marcus Publius, Titus Cornelius, and Quintus Lucius. During their term of office, following the failure of the Lacedaemonians at Thebes, the Boeotians, uniting boldly, formed an alliance and gathered a considerable army, expecting that the Lacedaemonians would arrive in Boeotia in great strength. The Athenians sent their most respected citizens as ambassadors to the cities which were subject to the Lacedaemonians, urging them to adhere to the common cause of liberty. For the Lacedaemonians, relying on the size of the force at their disposal, ruled their subject peoples inconsiderately and severely, and consequently many of those who belonged to the Spartan sphere of influence fell away to the Athenians. The first to respond to the plea to secede were the peoples of Chios and Byzantium ; they were followed by the peoples of Rhodes and Mytilenê and certain others of the islanders ; and as the movement steadily gathered force throughout Greece, many cities

[1] The Romans were scarcely interested in Sardinia before the first Punic War. Hence Satricum, a city of Latium, may be the correct reading. See critical note and cp. Livy, 6. 16. 6.

τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. ὁ δὲ δῆμος μετεωρισθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν πόλεων[1] εὐνοίᾳ κοινὸν συνέδριον ἁπάντων τῶν συμμάχων συνεστήσαντο καὶ συνέδρους ἀπέδειξαν
4 ἑκάστης πόλεως. ἐτάχθη δ' ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς γνώμης τὸ μὲν συνέδριον ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις συνεδρεύειν, πόλιν δὲ ἐπ' ἴσης καὶ μεγάλην καὶ μικρὰν μιᾶς ψήφου κυρίαν εἶναι, πάσας δ' ὑπάρχειν αὐτονόμους, ἡγεμόσι χρωμένας Ἀθηναίοις. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν πόλεων[2] ὁρῶντες ἀκατάσχετον οὖσαν πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν, ὅμως πρεσβείαις καὶ λόγοις φιλανθρώποις, ἔτι δ' ἐπαγγελίαις εὐεργετικαῖς ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο διορθοῦσθαι τὰς ἀλλοτριό-
5 τητας τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῆς ἐποιοῦντο πολλὴν φροντίδα, προσδοκῶντες μέγαν καὶ πολυχρόνιον αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι τὸν Βοιωτικὸν πόλεμον, συμμαχούντων τοῖς Θηβαίοις τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν κοινωνούντων τοῦ συνεδρίου.

29. Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Ἄκορις ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεύς, ἀλλοτρίως διακείμενος πρὸς τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα, δυνάμεις ξενικὰς ἀξιολόγους ἤθροισε· μεγάλους γὰρ μισθοὺς τοῖς ὑπακούουσι προτιθείς,[3] συχνοὺς δ'[4] εὐεργετῶν, ταχὺ πολλοὺς ἔσχε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπακούοντας πρὸς τὴν στρα-

[1] πόλεων Sherman; ἀποστάντων Post: συμμάχων.
[2] πόλεων Wesseling: πολλῶν Vogel justifies MSS. (cp. Book 13. 91. 5), but there τῶν πολλῶν means "the (!) hoi polloi."
[3] προτιθείς Reiske: προστιθείς.

attached themselves to the Athenians.[1] The democracy, elated by the loyalty of the cities, established a common council of all the allies and appointed representatives of each state. It was agreed by common consent that, while the council should hold its sessions in Athens, every city great and small should be on an equal basis and enjoy but one vote, and that all should continue independent, accepting the Athenians as leaders. The Lacedaemonians, aware that the movement of their cities to secede could not be checked, nevertheless strove earnestly by means of diplomatic missions, friendly words and promises of benefits to win back the peoples who had become estranged. Likewise they devoted themselves assiduously to their preparations for war, for they expected the Boeotian War to be a hard and tedious affair for them, since the Athenians and the rest of the Greeks who participated in the council were allied with the Thebans. 377/6 B.C.

29. While these things were going on, Acoris, then king of the Egyptians, being on unfriendly terms with the Persian King, collected a large mercenary force; for by offering high pay to those who enrolled and doing favours to many of them, he quickly induced many of the Greeks to take service with him for the

[1] This is the formation of the second Athenian maritime confederacy which aimed at the overthrow of Spartan supremacy in Greece. The accounts here and in Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 4. 34–6. 3, are the essential literary texts. Important inscriptional evidence exists, *IG*, 2^2. 43, also 40-42, 44, 45, 82, 95-101. The formation of the confederacy should probably be placed after Sphodrias' attempt to surprise the Peiraeus (see chap. 29. 6 and Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 5. 384).

[4] δ' added by Dindorf.

2 τεία. οὐκ ἔχων[1] δὲ στρατηγὸν ἀξιόχρεων, μετεπέμψατο Χαβρίαν τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, ἄνδρα καὶ φρονήσει[2] καὶ συνέσει στρατηγικῇ διάφορον καὶ δόξαν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ μεγάλην περιπεποιημένον.[3] οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἄνευ τῆς τοῦ δήμου γνώμης προσδεξάμενος τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀφηγεῖτο τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον δυνάμεων, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς παρεσκευάζετο
3 πολεμεῖν πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας. Φαρνάβαζος δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναδεδειγμένος στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ[4] τῆς Περσικῆς δυνάμεως παρασκευὰς μεγάλας ἐποιήσατο τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον χρησίμων· ἐξέπεμψε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πρέσβεις, κατηγορῶν μὲν Χαβρίου, ὅτι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἡγούμενος ἀπαλλοτριοῖ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εὔνοιαν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου, παρακαλῶν δὲ
4 στρατηγὸν Ἰφικράτην αὐτῷ δοῦναι. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, σπεύδοντες τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν εἰς εὔνοιαν προσαγαγέσθαι καὶ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ἰδιοποιήσασθαι, ταχέως τόν τε Χαβρίαν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετεπέμψαντο καὶ τὸν Ἰφικράτην στρατηγὸν ἐξαπέστειλαν συμμαχήσοντα τοῖς Πέρσαις.

[1] ἔχων P, Vogel: ἐχόντων.
[2] καὶ φρονήσει P, Vogel: Vulgate omits.
[3] περιπεποιημένον P, Vogel: πεποιημένον.
[4] ἐπὶ Schäfer: ἀπὸ (Reiske omits).

[1] This war between the Persians and the Egyptians (cp. Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 140 f.; Demosthenes, 20. 76; Nepos, *Chabrias*, 2. 1) belongs to an earlier period (according to Hall, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 145 f., to the years 385–383). Nectanebôs became king of Egypt in succession to Acoris by 378 (*ibid.* 148). Olmstead, A. T., *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 399, gives 385–383 as dates of the war.

[2] This must have been *c.* 386–384 when Chabrias was in charge of the Athenian army which was recalled from Cyprus

campaign.[1] But having no capable general, he sent 377/6 B.C.
for Chabrias the Athenian, a man distinguished both for his prudence as general and his shrewdness in the art of war, who had also won great repute for personal prowess. Now Chabrias, without first securing the permission of the Athenian people, accepted the appointment and took command of the forces in Egypt and with great dispatch made preparations to fight the Persians.[2] But Pharnabazus, who had been appointed by the King general of the Persian armies, prepared large supplies of war material, and also sent ambassadors to Athens, first to denounce Chabrias, who by becoming general of the Egyptians was alienating, so he said, the King's affection from the people of Athens, and, secondly, to urge them to give him Iphicrates as general. The Athenians, being eager to gain the favour of the Persian King and to incline Pharnabazus to themselves, quickly recalled Chabrias from Egypt[3] and dispatched Iphicrates[4] as general to act in alliance with the Persians.

(Hall, *l.c.* 146). Chabrias went shortly afterward to Egypt. Hall (*l.c.* 148), on the other hand, says that he went to Egypt in 377 and was soon recalled. See my note 3 below. Hall on the dates for Chabrias is at variance with other historians and Greek evidence. A good discussion of dates is found in Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers*, 59-62. See recent treatment in Olmstead, *op. cit.* pp. 397 ff. Complete data in Kirchner, *Pros. Att.* no. 15086.

[3] The recall of Chabrias probably occurred in the winter 380/79, since in the next winter he held the Athenian frontier against Cleombrotus (Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 4. 14) and in the early summer 378 helped defend Thebes against Agesilaüs. He was probably elected general in the spring of 379 (see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], 3. 2. 229-230). Chabrias was of good family, lived on a generous scale, kept a racing stable, and was an able *condottiere*.

[4] Iphicrates was probably sent out to Persia (see Nepos,

5 Τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις σπον-
δὰς πεποιημένοις ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω χρόνοις συνέβαινε
μένειν τὴν εἰρήνην μέχρι τῶνδε τῶν καιρῶν. μετὰ
δὲ ταῦτα Σφοδριάδου τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου τεταγμένου
μὲν ἐφ᾽ ἡγεμονίας, φύσει δ᾽ ὄντος μετεώρου καὶ
προπετοῦς, ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν Κλεόμβροτος ὁ βασιλεὺς
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἄνευ τῆς γνώμης τῶν ἐφόρων
6 καταλαβέσθαι τὸν Πειραιᾶ. ὁ δὲ Σφοδριάδης ἔχων
στρατιώτας πλείους τῶν μυρίων ἐπεβάλετο μὲν τῆς
νυκτὸς καταλαβέσθαι τὸν Πειραιᾶ· καταφανὴς δὲ
γενόμενος Ἀθηναίοις καὶ διαμαρτὼν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς
ἄπρακτος ἐπανῆλθεν. κατηγορηθεὶς δ᾽ ἐν τῷ συν-
εδρίῳ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, καὶ συναγωνιστὰς ἔχων
7 τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ἀδίκως ἀπελύθη. διόπερ οἱ Ἀθη-
ναῖοι χαλεπῶς φέροντες ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν, ἐψηφί-
σαντο λελύσθαι τὰς σπονδὰς ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων.
κρίναντες δὲ πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς[1] στρατηγοὺς τρεῖς
εἵλαντο τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν πολιτῶν, Τιμό-
θεον καὶ Χαβρίαν καὶ Καλλίστρατον. ἐψηφίσαντο

[1] αὐτοῖς] Vogel (cp. chap. 51. 2): αὐτοὺς AJK.

Iphicrates, 2. 4) about the time Chabrias was elected general. Since the Corinthian War Iphicrates had been in Thrace, restored to King Cotys his rule over the Odrysians, and married Cotys' daughter. He returned from Persian service to Athens in 373. He was a self-made man, great organizer and master of light-armed tactics, one of the most able of the *condottieri* (see chap. 44 and Nepos, *Iphicrates*).

[1] Cp. Book 14. 110. 4.

[2] Other accounts are Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 4. 20-21 and Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 14 and *Agesilaüs*, 24. Diodorus here as in the case of Phoebidas is suspicious of Spartan policy, while Xenophon and Plutarch both speak of Thebes as the instigator of the raid in order to embroil Athens and Sparta. Again Diodorus seems right in suspecting Sparta (cp. "lei-

The truce which the Lacedaemonians and Athenians had concluded in the earlier period[1] remained unshaken up to this time. But now Sphodriades the Spartan, who had been placed in command and was by nature flighty and precipitate, was prevailed upon by Cleombrotus,[2] the king of the Lacedaemonians, without the consent of the ephors to occupy the Peiraeus. Sphodriades with more than ten thousand soldiers attempted to occupy the Peiraeus at night,[3] but he was detected by the Athenians and, failing in the attempt, returned without accomplishing anything. He was then denounced before the council of the Spartans, but since he had the kings to support him, he got off by a miscarriage of justice.[4] As a result the Athenians, much vexed at the occurrence, voted that the truce had been broken by the Lacedaemonians.[5] They then decided to make war on them and chose three of their most distinguished citizens as generals, Timotheüs,[6] Chabrias, and Cal- 377/6 B.C.

tende Kreise in Sparta" in Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte* [2], 3. 1. 147 and Judeich, *op. cit.* 178). The inroad of Sphodrias (in Diodorus Sphodriades) was made (cp. Pearl Harbor) at the very time when three Spartan ambassadors were in Athens to negotiate. Their promises that Sparta would punish Sphodrias did much to assuage the anger of the Athenians at the moment.

[3] Diodorus recounts the whole war from the raid of Sphodrias to the battle of Naxos under the year 377/6. The raid of Sphodrias probably took place in the spring of 378 when Cleombrotus was operating in Boeotia after the liberation of Thebes (December 379).

[4] See for the influence of Cleombrotus and Archidamus, son of Agesilaüs, in rescuing Sphodrias, Xenophon, *l.c.* 22-33; Plutarch, *Agesilaüs*, 25.

[5] Cp. Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 4. 34; Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 15.

[6] Conon's son Timotheüs was successful as general and as statesman from this time on till his death in 354.

δὲ στρατιώτας μὲν ὁπλίτας καταλέξαι δισμυρίους
ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντακοσίους, ναῦς δὲ πληρῶσαι δια-
κοσίας. προσελάβοντο δὲ καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐπὶ
8 τὸ κοινὸν συνέδριον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις πᾶσιν. ἐψηφί-
σαντο δὲ καὶ τὰς γενομένας κληρουχίας ἀπο-
καταστῆσαι τοῖς πρότερον κυρίοις γεγονόσι, καὶ
νόμον ἔθεντο μηδένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων γεωργεῖν
ἐκτὸς τῆς Ἀττικῆς. διὰ δὲ ταύτης τῆς φιλανθρω-
πίας ἀνακτησάμενοι τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν
εὔνοιαν, ἰσχυροτέραν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἰδίαν ἡγε-
μονίαν.

30. Πολλαὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων διὰ
τὴν εἰρημένην αἰτίαν προεκλήθησαν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθη-
ναίους ἀποκλῖναι, πρῶται δὲ καὶ προθυμότατα
συνεμάχησαν αἱ κατὰ τὴν Εὔβοιαν οἰκοῦσαι χωρὶς
Ἑστιαίας· αὕτη γὰρ εὐηργετημένη μὲν[1] ὑπὸ Λακε-
δαιμονίων μεγάλα πεπολεμημένη δὲ δεινῶς ὑπὸ
Ἀθηναίων, εὐλόγως πρὸς μὲν Ἀθηναίους ἀδιάλυτον
ἐφύλαττε[2] τὴν ἔχθραν πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας
2 βεβαίαν τὴν[3] πίστιν διεφύλαττεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἰς συμμαχίαν συνέβησαν ἑβδομή-
κοντα πόλεις καὶ μετέσχον ἐπ᾽ ἴσης τοῦ κοινοῦ
συνεδρίου· διὸ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις αἰεὶ μᾶλλον τῆς
δυνάμεως αὐξομένης τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις τα-
πεινουμένης, ἐφάμιλλον τὴν ἰσχὺν τῶν πόλεων
συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι. οἱ δ᾽ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν πραγ-

[1] μὲν added by Kaelker.
[2] Warmington would delete ἐφύλαττε; ἐνεῖχε Post.
[3] βεβαίαν τὴν Vogel (cp. Book 13. 32. 5): βεβαιοτάτην.

[1] Callistratus of Aphidna, though one of the opponents of the King's Peace (see Book 14. 110. 2-3), had come to see that Athens had no other choice. One of the most brilliant

listratus.[1] They voted to levy twenty thousand hoplites and five hundred cavalry, and to man two hundred ships. They likewise admitted the Thebans into the common council on terms equal in all respects.[2] They voted also to restore the land settled by cleruchs[3] to its former owners and passed a law that no Athenian should cultivate lands outside of Attica.[4] By this generous act they recovered the goodwill of the Greeks and made their own leadership more secure. 377/6 B.C.

30. Now many of the other cities for the aforesaid reason were prompted to fall away to Athens; and the first to join in the alliance and the most eager were the cities of Euboea excepting Hestiaea[5]; for Hestiaea, having been treated most generously by the Lacedaemonians while she had suffered terribly in war with the Athenians, had very good reason for maintaining unabated her enmity to Athens and for continuing to observe inviolate her pledge to Sparta. Nevertheless seventy cities eventually entered into alliance with the Athenians and participated on equal footing in the common council. So with the constant increase in the strength of the Athenians and the diminution of that of the Lacedaemonians the two states were now well matched. The Athenians, see-

orators of this period, he was a keen politician and a skilful finance administrator.

[2] Cp. Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 4. 34; Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 15. For the League see chap. 28. 4.

[3] See chap. 23. 4.

[4] Thousands of Athenian citizens lost their last hope of recovering the land outside Attica which they or their fathers had lost in the catastrophe of 404. These hopes were still alive in the Corinthian War.

[5] In the list of cities, *IG*, 2². 1. 43, Hestiaea appears as having joined later than the other cities of Euboea. For the treatment of Hestiaea under Pericles see Book 12. 7.

μάτων αὐτοῖς κατὰ νοῦν προχωρούντων, δύναμιν
ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς τὴν Εὔβοιαν τὴν παραφυλάξουσαν
μὲν τοὺς συμμάχους, καταπολεμήσουσαν δὲ τοὺς
3 ἐναντίους. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Εὔβοιαν βραχὺ μὲν πρὸ
τούτων τῶν χρόνων Νεογένης τις ὄνομα μετ' Ἰά-
σονος τοῦ Φεραίου συλλέξας στρατιώτας κατελάβετο
τήν τε ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Ἑστιαιέων, καὶ τύραννον
ἑαυτὸν ἀπέδειξε ταύτης τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς τῶν
Ὠρειτῶν[1] πόλεως. ἄρχοντος δ' αὐτοῦ βιαίως καὶ
ὑπερηφάνως Λακεδαιμόνιοι Θηριπίδην ἀπέστειλαν
4 ἐπ' αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεχείρει λόγοις
πεῖσαι τὸν τύραννον ἐκχωρεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως·
ὡς δ' οὐ προσεῖχε, παρακαλέσας τοὺς ἐγχωρίους
πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐξεπολιόρκησε[2] τὸ χωρίον καὶ
τοῖς Ὠρείταις[1] τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποκατέστησεν, δι' ἣν
αἰτίαν οἱ τὴν Ἑστιαιέων καλουμένην χώραν οἰκοῦν-
τες οἰκείως διετέθησαν πρὸς τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, καὶ
5 βεβαίως ἐτήρουν τὴν φιλίαν. τῆς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν
Ἀθηναίων ἐκπεμφθείσης δυνάμεως ἡγούμενος Χα-
βρίας ἐπόρθησε τὴν Ἑστιαιῶτιν χώραν, καὶ τὴν
καλουμένην μὲν Μητρόπολιν, κειμένην δ' ἐπί τινος
ἐρυμνοῦ λόφου, τειχίσας, ἀπέλιπεν ἐν αὐτῇ φρουράν,
αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς Κυκλάσι νήσοις ἐπιπλέων προσ-
ηγάγετο Πεπάρηθον καὶ Σκίαθον καί τινας ἄλλας
τεταγμένας ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις.

31. Οἱ δὲ ὁρῶντες τὴν τῶν συμμάχων ὁρμὴν πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἀκατάσχετον οὖσαν, ἐπαύσαντο τῆς προϋπαρχούσης βαρύτητος καὶ ταῖς

[1] Ὠρειτῶν Palmer : ὠρωπίων.
[2] ἐξεπολιόρκησε Dindorf : ἐπολιόρκησε.

[1] Hestiaea, more often written Histiaea, a city on the north coast of Euboea, had a deme named Oreüs (Theopom.

ing affairs proceeding to their liking, dispatched a force to Euboea to serve at once as a protection for their allies and to subdue the opposition. 377/6 B.C. In Euboea a short time before this a certain Neogenes with the assistance of Jason of Pherae had gathered soldiers and occupied the citadel of Hestiaea,[1] and so appointed himself tyrant of this country and of the city of the Oreitans. Because of his violent and arrogant rule the Lacedaemonians had then dispatched Theripides against him. Theripides at first endeavoured to prevail upon the tyrant by reasoning with him to leave the citadel; but when the tyrant paid no heed to him, he rallied the people of the district to the cause of freedom, took the place by storm, and restored their freedom to the people of Oreüs. For this reason the people who inhabit what is known as the country of the Hestiaeans continued to be loyal to the Spartans and preserved intact their friendship. Chabrias, in command of the force dispatched by the Athenians,[2] laid waste Hestiaeotis, and, fortifying its Metropolis, as it is called, which is situated on a naturally steep hill, left a garrison in it, and then sailed to the Cyclades and won over Peparethos and Sciathos and some other islands which had been subject to the Lacedaemonians.

31. The Spartans, perceiving that the impulse of their allies to secede was not to be checked, put an end to their former severity and began to treat the

in Strabo, 445), situated to the west a few miles, which in Pericles' time received two thousand cleruchs and was officially known as Histiaea. The names became confused in antiquity. (See Richard Kiepert, p. 6 of text to Map XIV, *Formae O.A.*)

[2] According to Plutarch, *De Gloria Atheniensium*, 8, Timotheüs, not Chabrias, freed Euboea.

πόλεσι φιλανθρώπως προσεφέροντο. τοιαύταις[1] δ' ὁμιλίαις καὶ εὐεργεσίαις χρησάμενοι εὐνουστέρους ἅπαντας τοὺς συμμάχους κατεσκεύασαν. ὁρῶντες δὲ τὸν πόλεμον αὐξόμενον καὶ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας ἐπιδεόμενον,[2] τάς τε ἄλλας παρασκευὰς ἐποιοῦντο φιλοτίμως καὶ τὴν διάταξιν καὶ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ λειτουργιῶν περιτ-
2 τότερον ἐξειργάσαντο. τάς τε γὰρ πόλεις καὶ τοὺς καταλεγομένους στρατιώτας εἰς τὸν πόλεμον διεῖλαν εἰς δέκα μέρη· τούτων δὲ πρώτην ἐπεῖχον μερίδα Λακεδαιμόνιοι, δευτέραν δὲ καὶ τρίτην Ἀρκάδες, τετάρτην δ' Ἠλεῖοι, πέμπτην δ' Ἀχαιοί· καὶ τὴν μὲν ἕκτην ἐπλήρουν Κορίνθιοι καὶ Μεγαρεῖς, τὴν δ' ἑβδόμην Σικυώνιοι καὶ Φλιάσιοι καὶ οἱ τὴν Ἀκτὴν καλουμένην οἰκοῦντες, τὴν δ' ὀγδόην Ἀκαρνᾶνες, ἐνάτην δὲ Φωκεῖς καὶ Λοκροί, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν Ὀλύνθιοι καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης κατοικοῦντες σύμμαχοι. ἦν δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ μὲν ὁπλίτης πρὸς δύο ψιλοὺς τεταγμένος, ὁ δ' ἱππεὺς πρὸς τέτταρας
3 ὁπλίτας ἰσαζόμενος. τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς συντάξεως οὔσης, ἡγεῖτο τῆς στρατιᾶς Ἀγησίλαος ὁ βασιλεύς· περιβόητος δ' ἦν ἐπ'[3] ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ στρατηγικῇ συνέσει καὶ σχεδὸν ἀνίκητος γεγονὼς ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω χρόνοις. ἔν τε γὰρ τοῖς λοιποῖς πολέμοις ἐθαυμάσθη, καὶ καθ' ὃν καιρὸν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπολέμουν[4] τοῖς Πέρσαις, παραταξάμενος καὶ πολλαπλασίονα δύναμιν νικήσας, πολλὴν τῆς Ἀσίας

[1] τοιαύταις Dindorf : τοσαύταις.
[2] ἐπιδεόμενον Bekker : δεόμενον F.
[3] ἐπ' Rhodoman : ἐν.
[4] ἐπολέμουν Stephanus : πολεμοῦντες.

cities humanely. By this sort of treatment and by benefactions they rendered all their allies more loyal. 377/6 B.C.
And now that they saw that the war was becoming more serious and required strict attention, they set ambitiously to work on their various preparations for it, and in particular brought to greater perfection the organization and distribution of their soldiers and the services. In fact they divided the cities and the soldiers that were levied for the war into ten parts.[1] The first part included the Lacedaemonians, the second and third the Arcadians, the fourth the Eleians, the fifth the Achaeans. Corinthians and Megarians supplied the sixth, the seventh the Sicyonians and Phliasians and the inhabitants of the promontory called Actê,[2] the eighth the Acarnanians, the ninth the Phocians and Locrians, and the last of all the Olynthians and the allies who lived in Thrace. They reckoned one hoplite to two light-armed, and one horseman as equivalent to four hoplites.[3] Such was the organization, and King Agesilaüs was put in command of the campaign. He was renowned for courage and shrewdness in the art of war and had been all but invincible in the former periods. For in all his wars he won admiration and especially when the Lacedaemonians were fighting the Persians. For he gave battle and won the victory over a force of many times his own number; then he overran a large part

[1] For other members of the league see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², 3. 1. 108 and note 1.

[2] On the Argolid peninsula, inhabited by people of Epidaurus, Methonê, and Troezên.

[3] This reckoning (see Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 2. 21 and 6. 2. 16) gives a commutation rate payable by a state that does not send its normal contingent to the league force. Three Aeginetan obols (or 4½ Athenian) per day was the rate for one hoplite.

ἐπῆλθε κρατῶν τῶν ὑπαίθρων, καὶ πέρας, εἰ μὴ μετεπέμψαντο αὐτὸν οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται διά τινας πολιτικὰς χρείας, σχεδὸν ἂν καὶ τὴν ὅλην τῶν Περσῶν βασιλείαν εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους κατέστησεν.

4 *ἦν γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος δραστικὸς καὶ μετὰ συνέσεως πολλῆς θρασὺς καὶ παραβόλοις πράξεσι χρώμενος. διὸ καὶ τότε θεωροῦντες οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πολέμου προσδεόμενον ἡγεμόνος ἀξιολόγου, τοῦτον τοῦ πολέμου παντὸς ἡγεμόνα κατέστησαν.*

32. *Ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος προαγαγὼν*[1] *τὴν δύναμιν, ἧκεν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἔχων τοὺς σύμπαντας στρατιώτας πλείους τῶν μυρίων ὀκτακισχιλίων, ὧν ἦσαν αἱ*[2] *Λακεδαιμονίων πέντε μόραι· τὴν δὲ μόραν*[3] *ἀναπληροῦσιν ἄνδρες πεντακόσιοι. ὁ δὲ Σκιρίτης καλούμενος λόχος παρὰ τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις οὐ συντάττεται μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλ' ἰδίαν ἔχων σύστασιν μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἵσταται, καὶ παραβοηθεῖ τοῖς αἰεὶ θλιβομένοις μέρεσι· συνεστὼς δ' ἐξ ἐπιλέκτων ἀνθρώπων μεγάλας ποιεῖται ῥοπὰς ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσι καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον αἴτιος γίνεται τῆς νίκης. ἱππεῖς δ' εἶχεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος*

2 *χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους. οὗτος μὲν οὖν παραγενόμενος εἰς πόλιν Θεσπιάς, φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, πλησίον ταύτης κατεστρατοπέδευσε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐφ' ἡμέρας τινὰς ἀνελάμβανεν ἐκ τῆς κακοπαθείας. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πυθόμενοι τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων παρουσίαν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, εὐθὺς ἐβοήθουν εἰς τὰς Θήβας,*

[1] *προαγαγὼν* Reiske : *προσαγαγὼν*.
[2] *αἱ* Vogel : omitted by AJK, *οἱ cet.*
[3] *μόραι . . . μόραν* Vogel (cp. Ephorus, fr. 140) : *μύραι . . . μύραν* P, *μοῖραι . . . μοῖραν* Vulgate.

of Asia,[1] mastering the open country, and finally 377/6 B.C.
would probably have succeeded, had not the Spartans recalled him because of political affairs, in reducing the whole Persian empire to the direst straits. For he was a man of energy, daring but highly intelligent, engaging in hazardous actions. Accordingly the Spartans, seeing that the magnitude of the war called for a first-rate leader, again appointed him commander of the whole war.

32. Agesilaüs led forth his army and reached Boeotia accompanied by all the soldiers, amounting to more than eighteen thousand, in which were the five divisions of Lacedaemonians. Each division contained five hundred men. The company known as Sciritae [2] amongst the Spartans is not drawn up with the rest, but has its own station with the king and it goes to the support of the sections that from time to time are in distress ; and since it is composed of picked men, it is an important factor in turning the scale in pitched battles, and generally determines the victory. Agesilaüs also had fifteen hundred cavalry. Passing on then to the city of Thespiae, which was garrisoned by the Lacedaemonians, he encamped near it and for several days rested his men from the hardships of the march. The Athenians, having become aware of the arrival of the Lacedaemonians in Boeotia, immediately went to the assistance of

[1] See Book 14. 79-80, 83.
[2] A people who lived on the mountainous northern frontier of Laconia. This special corps, considered apparently the cream of the army, formed the vanguard of an advance and the rearguard of a retreat. Thought by some to be light-armed, though this is doubted by Kromayer-Veith on the strength of this and other passages (p. 39, *Heerwesen und Kriegsführung der Griechen und Römer*, Munich, 1928). (See Thucydides, 5. 67. 1.)

ἔχοντες πεζοὺς μὲν πεντακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ
3 διακοσίους. τούτων δὲ τῶν δυνάμεων ἀθροισθεισῶν εἰς ἕνα τόπον, οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι λόφον τινὰ κατελάβοντο παραμήκη, σταδίους ἀπέχοντα τῆς πόλεως εἴκοσι, καὶ πρόβλημα ποιησάμενοι τὰς δυσχωρίας ἀνέμενον τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἔφοδον· τὴν γὰρ Ἀγησιλάου δόξαν καταπεπληγμένοι τὸν ἐν τοῖς
4 πεδίοις ἐξ ἴσου κίνδυνον ὑπομένειν εὐλαβοῦντο. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος συντεταγμένῃ τῇ δυνάμει προάγων ἐπὶ τοὺς Βοιωτούς, ὡς ἤγγισε τοῖς πολεμίοις, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἐπαφῆκε τοῖς ἐναντίοις, πειρώμενος πῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς τὴν μάχην. ἀποκρουσαμένων δὲ αὐτοὺς τῶν Θηβαίων ῥᾳδίως ἐκ τόπων ὑπερδεξίων, ἐπήγαγε πᾶσαν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὴν δύνα-
5 μιν συντεταγμένην καταπληκτικῶς. Χαβρίας δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος τῶν μισθοφόρων ἀφηγούμενος παρήγγειλε τοῖς στρατιώταις δέχεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους καταπεφρονηκότως ἅμα καὶ τεταγμένως,[1] καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὸ γόνυ κλίναντας ὀρθῷ[2] τῷ
6 δόρατι μένειν. ὧν ποιησάντων τὸ προσταχθὲν ὥσπερ ἀφ' ἑνὸς παρακελεύσματος, ὁ Ἀγησίλαος θαυμάσας τήν τε εὐταξίαν τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν καταφρόνησιν, τὸ μὲν βιάζεσθαι πρὸς ὑπερδεξίους τόπους καὶ συναναγκάζειν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γίνεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἐκ χειρὸς κίνδυνον οὐκ ἔκρινε, πεῖραν δὲ λαβὼν ὅτι τολμήσουσιν ἀναγκαζόμενοι διαγωνίζεσθαι περὶ τῆς νίκης, ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ προεκαλεῖτο. οὐ συγκαταβαινόντων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων, τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα τῶν πεζῶν ἀπήγαγε, τοὺς δ' ἱππεῖς καὶ τὰ ψιλικὰ τῶν ταγμάτων

[1] τεταγμένως Post : (ἐν Dindorf) τῇ τάξει μένοντας.
[2] So Post, σὺν ὀρθῷ Hertlein : ἐν ὀρθῷ.

Thebes with five thousand foot-soldiers and two hundred cavalry. When these forces had assembled, the Thebans occupied an oblong crest about twenty stades from the city and, having transformed the obstacle into a bastion, awaited the attack of the enemy; for the reputation of Agesilaüs so overawed them that they were too timid to await his attack on equal terms in the level country. As for Agesilaüs,[1] he led out his army in battle array against the Boeotians, and, when he had drawn near, in the first place launched his light-armed troops against his opponents, thus testing their disposition to fight him. But when the Thebans had easily from their higher position thrust his men back, he led the whole army against them closely arrayed to strike them with terror. Chabrias[2] the Athenian, however, leading his mercenary troops, ordered his men to receive the enemy with a show of contempt, maintaining all the while their battle lines, and, leaning their shields against their knees, to wait with upraised spear. Since they did what they were ordered as at a single word of command, Agesilaüs, marvelling at the fine discipline of the enemy and their posture of contempt, judged it inadvisable to force a way against the higher ground and compel his opponents to show their valour in a hand-to-hand contest, and, having learned by trial that they would dare, if forced, to dispute the victory, he challenged them in the plain. But when the Thebans would not come down to meet him, he withdrew the phalanx of infantry, dispatched the cavalry and light-armed ranks 377/6 B.C.

[1] For the campaign of this year (actually 378) see Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 4. 35-41, *Agesilaüs*, 26.
[2] For the rôle of Chabrias see Polyaenus, 2. 1. 2; Nepos, *Chabrias*, 1; Demosthenes, 20. 76.

ἐξαποστείλας ἐπόρθησε τὴν χώραν ἀδεῶς καὶ πολλῶν λαφύρων ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο.

33. Οἱ δὲ συνόντες τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ Σπαρτιᾶται σύμβουλοι καὶ οἱ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἔχοντες ἐθαύμαζον πῶς δραστικὸς εἶναι δοκῶν Ἀγησίλαος καὶ μείζονα καὶ δυναμικωτέραν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν οὐ διηγωνίσατο πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. πρὸς οὓς ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἀπεκρίθη, νῦν μὲν ἀκινδύνως τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους νενικηκέναι[1]· πορθουμένῃ γὰρ τῇ χώρᾳ μὴ τετολμηκέναι τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς βοηθῆσαι· εἰ δ' αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων παρακεχωρηκότων τῆς νίκης ἐβιάσατο τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπομένειν τὸ δεινόν, ἴσως ἂν διὰ τὸ παράλογον τῆς τύχης δύναιντο καὶ πταῖσαι[2]
2 κατὰ τὸν κίνδυνον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. τότε μὲν οὖν διὰ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως[3] ταύτης ἔδοξε μετρίως κατεστοχάσθαι τὸ δυνάμενον ἀποβῆναι, ὕστερον δὲ διὰ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἔδοξεν οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνην ἀπόφασιν, ἀλλὰ θεῖόν[4] τινα χρησμὸν εἰρηκέναι. οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Θηβαίους καὶ συναναγκάσαντες αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνίσασθαι, μεγάλῃ
3 συμφορᾷ περιέπεσον. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐν Λεύκτροις ἡττηθέντες πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσαν τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐν οἷς καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Κλεόμβροτος ἔπεσε· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα περὶ Μαντίνειαν πολεμήσαντες τοῖς ὅλοις ἐσφάλησαν καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀνελπίστως ἀπέβαλον. ἀγαθὴ γὰρ ἡ τύχη τοὺς μέγα φρονοῦντας παραδόξως σφῆλαι καὶ διδάξαι μηδὲν ἄγαν κατελπίζειν. ὁ γοῦν Ἀγησίλαος ἐχε-

[1] ἂν after νενικηκέναι deleted by Dindorf.
[2] πταῖσαι Dindorf: φθᾶσαι.
[3] διὰ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως Wurm: ὑπὸ τῆς διακρίσεως.

to plunder the countryside unhampered, and so took a great quantity of spoil. 377/6 B.C.

33. The Spartan advisers, who accompanied Agesilaüs, and his officers expressed to him their surprise that Agesilaüs, who reputedly was a man of energy and had the larger and more powerful force, should have avoided a decisive contest with the enemy. To them Agesilaüs made answer that, as it was, the Lacedaemonians had won the victory without the risk; for when the countryside was being sacked, the Boeotians had not dared to rally to its defence; but if, when the enemy themselves had conceded the victory, he had forced them to endure the risks of battle, perhaps through the uncertainty of fortune the Lacedaemonians might even have come to grief in the contest. Now at the time he was thought in this reply of his to have estimated the possible outcome fairly well, but later in the light of events he was believed to have uttered no mere human saying but a divinely inspired oracle. For the Lacedaemonians, having taken the field against the Thebans with a mighty army and having compelled them to fight for their freedom, met with a great disaster. They were defeated, namely, at Leuctra first, where they lost many of their citizen soldiers and their king Cleombrotus fell; and later, when they fought at Mantineia, they were utterly routed and hopelessly lost their supremacy.[1] For fortune has a knack, when men vaunt themselves too highly, of laying them unexpectedly low and so teaching them to hope for nothing in excess. At any rate

[1] 362 B.C., though the battle of Leuctra, 371, established the supremacy of Thebes.

[4] θεῖόν Vogel: θεῶν.

φρόνως ἀρκεσθεὶς τῷ πρώτῳ προτερήματι, τὴν δύναμιν ἀσινῆ διεφύλαξεν.

4 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι διὰ τὴν Χαβρίου στρατηγίαν σωθέντες ἐθαύμασαν τἀνδρὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ στρατηγήματι ἀγχίνοιαν. ὁ δὲ Χαβρίας, πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένων κατὰ πόλεμον, ἐπὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα ἐσεμνύνετο τῷ στρατηγήματι, καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου δοθείσας αὐτῷ καθίστανεν ἐχούσας
5 τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τὴν Ἀγησιλάου στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Θεσπιὰς τὴν μὲν προφυλακήν, οὖσαν ἀνδρῶν διακοσίων, ἀνεῖλον, τῇ δὲ πόλει προσβολὰς συνεχεῖς ποιούμενοι, καὶ μηδὲν ἀξιόλογον πράξαντες, ἀπῆγον τὴν
6 δύναμιν εἰς τὰς Θήβας. Φοιβίδας δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, ἔχων[1] ἀξιόλογον φρουρὰν ἐν ταῖς Θεσπιαῖς, ἐκχυθεὶς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ προπετῶς τοῖς ἀποχωροῦσι Θηβαίοις ἐπιθέμενος, τῶν μὲν στρατιωτῶν ἀπέβαλε πλείους τῶν πεντακοσίων, αὐτὸς δὲ λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ πολλοῖς ἐναντίοις τραύμασι περιπεσὼν ἡρωικῶς κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον.

34. Οὐ πολλῷ δ' ὕστερον χρόνῳ πάλιν τῶν[2] Λακεδαιμονίων τῇ αὐτῇ δυνάμει στρατευσάντων ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας, οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι δυσχωρίας τινὰς ἑτέρας καταλαμβανόμενοι διεκώλυον μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους λεηλατεῖν τὴν χώραν, κατὰ στόμα δὲ πρὸς ἅπασαν τὴν δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις οὐκ ἐτόλμων

[1] ἔχων] AFLJ: Θεσπιαῖς ἔχων *cet.*
[2] πάλιν τῶν Dindorf: πάντων.

Agesilaüs, prudently satisfied with his first success, brought his army through unharmed. 377/6 B.C.

After this Agesilaüs returned with his army to the Peloponnese, while the Thebans, saved by the generalship of Chabrias, marvelled at his skill in strategy. Chabrias, though he had performed many gallant deeds in war, was particularly proud of this bit of strategy and he caused the statues which had been granted to him by his people to be erected to display that posture.[1] The Thebans after the departure of Agesilaüs, leading an expedition against Thespiae, destroyed the advance outpost[2] consisting of two hundred men, but after making repeated assaults on the city itself and accomplishing nothing worthy of mention, led their army back to Thebes. Phoebidas,[3] the Lacedaemonian, who had a considerable garrison in Thespiae, sallied forth from the city, fell rashly upon the retreating Thebans, and lost more than five hundred soldiers, while he himself, fighting brilliantly, after receiving many wounds in front, met a hero's death.

34. Not long after this the Lacedaemonians again[4] took the field against Thebes in the same strength as before, but the Thebans, by occupying certain new obstacles, prevented the enemy from devastating the country, though they did not venture to offer battle in the plains face to face against the whole army of

[1] As described in chap. 32. 5. For the statues see Nepos, *Chabrias*, 1.
[2] The camp site of Agesilaüs, chap. 32. 2.
[3] See Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 4. 42-46; Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 15; Polyaenus, 2. 5. 2.
[4] This is the campaign of a new year (this time 377), the account of which is found in Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 4. 47-55; Plutarch, *Agesilaüs*, 26. 3 f.

2 παρατάξασθαι. τοῦ δ' Ἀγησιλάου προσμαχο-
μένου[1] συγκατέβησαν ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον πρὸς τὸν
ἀγῶνα. γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον
ἰσχυρᾶς, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον
προετέρουν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
Θηβαίων ἐκχυθέντων πανδημεί, θεωρῶν τὸ πλῆθος
τῶν ἐπιρρεόντων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἀνεκαλέσατο τῇ
σάλπιγγι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης. οἱ δὲ
Θηβαῖοι, δόξαντες τότε πρώτως μὴ καταδεεστέρους
ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίων, τρόπαιόν τε ἔστησαν
καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν κατεθάρρησαν τῆς τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν
δυνάμεως.
3 Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰς πεζὰς[2] δυνάμεις τοιοῦτον
ἔσχε τὸ τέλος· τῶν δὲ ναυτικῶν κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς
καιροὺς ἐγένετο μεγάλη ναυμαχία μεταξὺ Νάξου
καὶ Πάρου διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. Πόλλις ὁ τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων ναύαρχος, πυθόμενος σίτου πλῆθος
ἐν ὁλκάσι παρακομίζεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐφ-
ήδρευε καὶ παρετήρει τὸν κατάπλουν τῆς κομιζο-
μένης ἀγορᾶς, διανοούμενος ἐπιθέσθαι ταῖς ὁλκάσιν.
ἃ δὴ πυθόμενος ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξέπεμψε
στόλον παραφυλάξοντα τὴν σιτοπομπίαν ὃς[3] καὶ
διέπεμψεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιέα τὴν κομιζομένην ἀγο-
4 ράν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Χαβρίας μὲν ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
ναύαρχος μετὰ τοῦ στόλου παντὸς πλεύσας ἐπὶ τὴν
Νάξον συνεστήσατο πολιορκίαν. προσαγαγὼν δὲ
τοῖς τείχεσι μηχανὰς καὶ διὰ τούτων σαλεύσας τὰ
τείχη, σπουδὴν εἰσεφέρετο βίᾳ κρατῆσαι τῆς πό-
λεως. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Πόλλις ὁ τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων ναύαρχος κατέπλευσε βοηθήσων
τοῖς Ναξίοις. γενομένης δὲ φιλοτιμίας ἀμφότεροι
συγκατέβησαν εἰς ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὰς ναῦς διατά-

the enemy. As Agesilaüs advanced to the attack, 377/6 B.C.
they came out to meet him gradually. A bitter battle raged for a long time, in which at first Agesilaüs' men prevailed, but later, as the Thebans poured forth in full force from the city, Agesilaüs, beholding the multitude of men streaming down upon him, summoned his soldiers by trumpet to withdraw from the battle. The Thebans, who found themselves now for the first time not inferior to the Lacedaemonians, erected a trophy of victory and thereafter faced the army of the Spartans with confidence.

With regard to the fighting of the land forces, such was the issue. At sea about the same time occurred a great naval battle between Naxos and Paros, of which the cause was as follows. Pollis, the admiral of the Lacedaemonians, learning that a large shipment of grain was on its way to Athens in freighters, lay in wait watching for the grain fleet as it put in to port, intending to attack the freighters. The Athenian people, being informed of this, sent out a convoy to guard the grain in transit, which in fact brought it safe to the Peiraeus. Later Chabrias, the Athenian admiral, with the whole navy sailed to Naxos and laid it under siege. Bringing his siege-engines to bear against the walls, when he had shaken them, he then bent every effort to take the city by storm. While these things were going on, Pollis, the admiral of the Lacedaemonians, sailed into port to assist the Naxians. In eager rivalry both sides engaged in a sea-battle, and forming in line of battle charged

[1] προσμαχομένου J. G. Schneider: προμαχουμένου.
[2] πεζὰς Dindorf: πεζικὰς.
[3] ὃς added by Reiske.

5 ξαντες ἐπέπλεον ἀλλήλοις. εἶχε δὲ τριήρεις ὁ μὲν Πόλλις ἑξήκοντα καὶ πέντε ὁ δὲ Χαβρίας ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ τρεῖς. ἐπιπλεουσῶν δὲ τῶν νεῶν ἀλλήλαις, Πόλλις μὲν ἡγούμενος τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως πρῶτος ἐνέβαλε ταῖς ἀντιτεταγμέναις τριήρεσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ κέρατος, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Κήδων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος· ἀγωνισάμενος δὲ λαμπρῶς αὐτόν τε τὸν Κήδωνα διέφθειρε καὶ τὴν ναῦν κατεβύθισεν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις[1] συμβαλὼν καὶ τοῖς ἐμβόλοις ἀναρρήττων, ἃς μὲν διέφθειρεν, ἃς δὲ φυγεῖν ἠνάγκασεν.
6 ἃ δὴ κατιδὼν ὁ Χαβρίας, καὶ μέρος τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν νεῶν ἐκπέμψας, ἐβοήθησε τοῖς πιεζομένοις καὶ τὴν ἧτταν τῶν ἰδίων διωρθώσατο, αὐτὸς δ' ἔχων τὸ κράτιστον τοῦ στόλου καὶ γενναίως ἀγωνισάμενος πολλὰς μὲν τριήρεις διέφθειρεν, οὐκ ὀλίγας δ' αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβεν.

35. Γενόμενος δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ προτερήματος, καὶ πάσας τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ναῦς φυγεῖν ἀναγκάσας, ἀπέσχετο παντελῶς τοῦ διωγμοῦ· ἀναμνησθεὶς γὰρ[2] τῆς ἐν Ἀργινούσαις ναυμαχίας, ἐν ᾗ τοὺς νικήσαντας στρατηγοὺς ὁ δῆμος ἀντὶ μεγάλης εὐεργεσίας θανάτῳ περιέβαλεν, αἰτιασάμενος ὅτι τοὺς τετελευτηκότας κατὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν οὐκ ἔθαψαν, εὐλαβήθη μήποτε τῆς περιστάσεως ὁμοίας γενομένης κινδυνεύσῃ παθεῖν παραπλήσια. διόπερ ἀποστὰς τοῦ διώκειν ἀνελέγετο τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς διανηχομένους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔτι ζῶντας διέσωσε, τοὺς δὲ τετελευτηκότας ἔθαψεν. εἰ δὲ μὴ περὶ ταύτην ἐγένετο τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ῥᾳδίως ἂν ἅπαντα

[1] ταῖς ἄλλαις Reiske : τοῖς ἄλλοις.
[2] γὰρ added by Reiske.

each other.[1] Pollis had sixty-five triremes ; Chabrias 377/6 B.C.
eighty-three. As the ships bore down on one another, Pollis, leading the right wing, was first to attack the opposing triremes on the left wing, which Cedon the Athenian commanded. In a brilliant contest he slew Cedon himself and sank his ship ; and, in similar fashion engaging the other ships of Cedon and tearing them open with the beaks of his ships, he destroyed some and others he forced to flee. When Chabrias beheld what was happening, he dispatched a squadron of the ships under his command and brought support to the men who were hard pressed and so retrieved the defeat of his own side. He himself with the strongest part of the fleet in a valiant struggle destroyed many triremes and took a large number captive.

35. Although he had thus won the upper hand and forced all the enemies' ships to flee, he abstained altogether from pursuit. For he recalled the battle of Arginusae[2] and that the assembly of the people, in return for the great service performed by the victorious generals, condemned them to death on the charge that they had failed to bury the men who had perished in the fight ; consequently he was afraid, since the circumstances were much the same, that he might run the risk of a similar fate. Accordingly, refraining from pursuit, he gathered up the bodies of his fellow citizens which were afloat, saved those who still lived, and buried the dead. Had he not engaged in this task he would easily have destroyed the whole

[1] The battle of Naxos took place in Sept. 376. For other accounts see Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 4. 60-61 ; Plutarch, *Phocion*, 6 (for date) ; Polyaenus, 3. 11. 2 (also gives date).
[2] 406 B.C. One of the Athenian *causes célèbres* (see Book 13. 99, 101).

2 τὸν τῶν πολεμίων στόλον διέφθειρε. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων διεφθάρησαν τριήρεις ὀκτωκαίδεκα, τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων διεφθάρησαν μὲν εἴκοσι καὶ τέτταρες, αὔτανδροι δ' ἐλήφθησαν ὀκτώ. Χαβρίας μὲν οὖν ἐπιφανῆ ναυμαχίαν[1] νικήσας κατέπλευσε μετὰ πολλῶν λαφύρων εἰς τὸν Πειραιέα, καὶ μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἔτυχε παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον Ἀθηναῖοι ταύτην πρώτην ναυμαχίαν ἐνίκησαν· τὴν γὰρ περὶ Κνίδον οὐκ ἰδίᾳ διηγωνίσαντο, τῷ δὲ βασιλικῷ στόλῳ χρησάμενοι προετέρησαν.

3 Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ Μάρκος Μάνλιος[2] ἐπιβαλόμενος τυραννίδι καὶ κρατηθεὶς ἀνῃρέθη.

36. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Χαρισάνδρου[3] Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλιάρχους κατέστησαν τέτταρας, Σερούιον Σουλπίκιον, Λεύκιον Παπίριον, Τίτον Κοΐνκτιον,[4] Ἠλεῖοι δ' ἤγαγον ὀλυμπιάδα πρώτην πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Δάμων Θούριος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ Τριβαλλοὶ σιτοδείᾳ πιεζόμενοι πανδημεὶ στρατείαν ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς τὴν ὑπερόριον χώραν, καὶ τὰς τροφὰς ἐκ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας γῆς ἐπορίζοντο.

2 ὄντες δὲ πλείους τῶν τρισμυρίων ἐπῆλθον τήν τε ὅμορον Θρᾴκην καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀβδηριτῶν χώραν ἐπόρθησαν ἀδεῶς· πολλῆς δὲ ὠφελείας κυριεύσαν-

[1] ἐπιφανῆ ναυμαχίαν] Vogel reads ἐπιφανεῖ ναυμαχίᾳ.
[2] Μάνλιος Wesseling: Μανίλιος.
[3] Χαρισάνδρου Dindorf: Χαριάνδρου.

enemy fleet. In the battle eighteen triremes[1] on 377/6 B.C.
the Athenian side were destroyed; on the Lacedaemonian twenty-four were destroyed and eight captured with their crews. Chabrias then, having won a notable victory, sailed back laden with spoils to the Peiraeus and met with an enthusiastic reception from his fellow citizens. Since the Peloponnesian War this was the first naval battle the Athenians had won. For they had not fought the battle of Cnidus[2] with a fleet of their own, but had got the use of the King's fleet and won a victory.

While these things were going on, in Italy Marcus Manlius,[3] who aspired to a tyranny in Rome, was overpowered and slain.

36. When Charisander was archon at Athens, the 376/5 B.C.
Romans elected four military tribunes with consular power, Servius Sulpicius, Lucius Papirius, Titus Quinctius; and the Eleians celebrated the one hundred first Olympiad, in which Damon of Thurii won the stadium race. During their term of office, in Thrace the Triballians, suffering from a famine, moved in full force into territory beyond their borders and obtained food from the land not their own. More than thirty thousand invaded the adjacent part of Thrace and ravaged with impunity the territory of Abdera; and after seizing a large quantity of booty they were

[1] At variance with Demosthenes, 20. 78: μόνος τῶν πάντων στρατηγῶν οὐ πόλιν, οὐ φρούριον, οὐ ναῦν, οὐ στρατιώτην ἀπώλεσεν (*sc.* Χαβρίας) οὐδέν' ἡγούμενος ὑμῶν.
[2] 394 B.C. Conon, the Athenian admiral, had a Persian fleet in this naval victory which threatened Sparta's supremacy (see Book 14. 83).
[3] See Livy, 6. 20.

[4] Τίτον Κοΐνκτιον P (cp. Livy, 6. 18. 1): Κορνήλιον Τίτον καὶ Μάρκον Κοίντιον.

τες καταπεφρονηκότως καὶ ἀτάκτως τὴν ἐπάνοδον ἐποιοῦντο. οἱ δ' Ἀβδηρῖται πανδημεὶ στρατεύσαντες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς[1] σποράδην καὶ ἀτάκτως τὴν ἐπάνοδον ποιουμένους πλείους τῶν δισχιλίων ἀνεῖλον.
3 οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι παροξυνθέντες ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι, καὶ βουλόμενοι τοὺς Ἀβδηρίτας τιμωρήσασθαι, πάλιν ἐνέβαλον αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν. οἱ δὲ προνενικηκότες ἐπαρθέντες τῷ προτερήματι, καὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων Θρᾳκῶν συμμαχίαν ἀποστειλάντων αὐτοῖς, παρετάξαντο τοῖς βαρβάροις.
4 γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς, καὶ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν μεταβαλομένων ἄφνω, μονωθέντες οἱ Ἀβδηρῖται καὶ κυκλωθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βαρβάρων, σχεδὸν ἅπαντες οἱ τῆς μάχης μετεσχηκότες κατεκόπησαν. τηλικαύτῃ δὲ συμφορᾷ τῶν Ἀβδηριτῶν περιπεπτωκότων καὶ μελλόντων πολιορκεῖσθαι, Χαβρίας ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐπιφανεὶς μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐξείλατο τῶν κινδύνων τοὺς Ἀβδηρίτας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει φρουρὰν ἀξιόλογον καταλιπὼν αὐτὸς ὑπό
5 τινων ἐδολοφονήθη. Τιμόθεος δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν ναυαρχίαν καὶ πλεύσας εἰς τὴν Κεφαλληνίαν, τάς τ' ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεις[2] προσηγάγετο καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν ὁμοίως ἔπεισεν ἀποκλῖναι πρὸς Ἀθηναίους. Ἀλκέταν τε τὸν Μολοττῶν βασιλέα φίλον κατασκευάσας, καὶ καθόλου τὰς χώρας τὰς[3] τῶν περὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐκείνους πόλεων ἐξιδιοποιησάμενος, ἐνίκησε ναυμαχίᾳ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους περὶ

[1] καὶ after αὐτοὺς deleted by Reiske.

making their way homeward in a contemptuous and disorderly fashion when the inhabitants of Abdera took the field in full force against them and slew more than two thousand of them as they straggled in disorder homewards.[1] The barbarians then, enraged at what had happened and wishing to avenge themselves upon the Abderites, again invaded their land. The victors in the earlier conflict, being elated by their success and aided by the presence of the Thracians of the neighbouring region, who had sent out a body of men to assist them, drew up their lines opposite to the barbarians. A stubborn battle took place, and since the Thracians suddenly changed sides, the Abderites, now left to fight alone and surrounded by the superior number of the barbarians, were butchered almost to a man, as many as took part in the fight. But just after the Abderites had suffered so great a disaster and were on the point of being besieged, Chabrias the Athenian suddenly appeared with troops and snatched them out of their perils. He drove the barbarians from the country, and, after leaving a considerable garrison in the city, was himself assassinated by certain persons.[2] Timotheüs succeeded him as admiral, sailed to Cephallenia, won over the cities there, and likewise persuaded the cities of Acarnania to come over to Athens. After he had made a friend of Alcetas, king of the Molossians, and, speaking generally, had won over the areas belonging to the cities of those regions, he defeated the Lacedae- 376/5 B.C.

[1] See Aeneas Tacticus, 15. 8-10.

[2] Demosthenes, Nepos, and Diodorus himself (Book 16. 7. 3) state that Chabrias died eighteen years later at Chios.

[2] τ' ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεις Reiske : τε ναῦς τῇ πόλει.

[3] χώρας τὰς] πόλεις τὰς PAFK ; πλείστας Dindorf.

6 Λευκάδα. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ταχέως καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἐπετέλεσε, πείθων μὲν διὰ τῆς τοῦ λόγου δυνάμεως, νικῶν δὲ δι' ἀνδρείαν καὶ στρατηγίαν. διόπερ οὐ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι μεγάλης ἐτύγχανεν ἀποδοχῆς. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Τιμόθεον ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

37. Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' Ὀρχομενὸν ἐπιλέκτοις ἀνδράσι πεντακοσίοις καὶ συνετέλεσαν πρᾶξιν ἀξίαν μνήμης· φρουρούντων γὰρ τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν Λακεδαιμονίων πολλοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἀντιταξαμένων, ἐγενήθη μάχη καρτερά, καθ' ἣν οἱ Θηβαῖοι πρὸς διπλασίους συμβαλόντες ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. οὐδέποτε γὰρ τοῦτο συνέβη γενέσθαι κατὰ τοὺς ἐπάνω χρόνους, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν ὑπάρχειν
2 ἐδόκει τὸ πολλοὺς ὀλίγους νικῆσαι. διὸ καὶ φρονήματος ἐπίμπλαντο Θηβαῖοι, καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν εἶχον μᾶλλον περιβόητον, καὶ φανεροὶ καθειστήκεισαν ἀμφισβητήσοντες τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας.

3 Τῶν δὲ συγγραφέων Ἑρμείας ὁ Μεθυμναῖος τὴν τῶν Σικελικῶν σύνταξιν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν κατέστροφε, γράψας βύβλους δέκα, ὡς δέ τινες διαιροῦσι, δώδεκα.

38. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Ἱπποδάμου Ῥωμαῖοι χιλιάρχους ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων κατέστησαν τέτταρας, Λεύκιον Οὐαλέριον, Λεύκιον[1] Μάλλιον,[2]

[1] Λεύκιον P : Κρίσπον (*Aulum* Livy, 6. 21. 1).
[2] Μάλλιον PA : Μάλλιον Φάβιον.

[1] Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 4. 62-66 gives a fuller account of Timotheüs' activities. See also Isocrates, *Antidosis*, 109; Nepos, *Timotheüs*, 2. 1; Polyaenus, 3. 10. 4-17 (*passim*); Frontinus, *Strat.* 2. 5. 47. The year is 375.

monians in a naval battle off Leucas.[1] All this he 376/5 B.C.
accomplished quickly and easily, not only persuading men by his eloquence, but also winning battles by courage and good generalship. Consequently he won great acclaim, not only among his own fellow citizens but also among the Greeks at large. Thus stood the fortunes of Timotheüs.

37. While these things were going on, the Thebans made an expedition against Orchomenus with five hundred picked men and performed a memorable action. For as the Lacedaemonians maintained a garrison of many soldiers in Orchomenus and had drawn up their forces against the Thebans, a stiff battle took place in which the Thebans, attacking twice their number, defeated the Lacedaemonians.[2] Never indeed had such a thing occurred before; it had seemed enough if they won with many against few. The result was that the Thebans swelled with pride, became more and more renowned for their valour, and had manifestly put themselves in a position to compete for the supremacy of Greece.

Of the historians, Hermeias of Methymnê[3] brought to a close with this year his narrative of Sicilian affairs, having composed ten books, or, as some divide the work, twelve.

38. When Hippodamas was archon at Athens, the 375/4 B.C.
Romans elected four military tribunes with consular power, Lucius Valerius, Lucius Manlius, Servius

[2] Properly in the year 375/4 (Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], 3. 1. 155). See Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 16 f.
[3] One fragment of the Sicilian history of Hermeias remains (Athenaeus, 10. 438 c; also *FHG*, 2. 80. 1). The history seems to have dealt mainly with the Elder Dionysius with perhaps a brief introduction on earlier Sicilian affairs. (See Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], 3. 2. 42-43.)

Σερούιον[1] Σουλπίκιον, Λοκρήτιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς μέλλων πολεμεῖν πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους καὶ σπεύδων ξενικὴν δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον συστήσασθαι, διέγνω συλλύσασθαι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πολέμους· οὕτως γὰρ μάλιστ᾽ ἤλπιζε τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀπολελυμένους τῶν οἰκείων πολέμων ἑτοιμοτέρους ἔσεσθαι πρὸς τὰς ξενολογίας. διόπερ πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς παρακαλέσοντας τὰς πόλεις
2 κοινὴν εἰρήνην συνθέσθαι. τῶν δ᾽ Ἑλλήνων ἀσμένως προσδεξαμένων τοὺς λόγους διὰ τὸ κάμνειν τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῶν πολέμων, συνέθεντο πάντες τὴν εἰρήνην, ὥστε πάσας τὰς πόλεις αὐτονόμους καὶ ἀφρουρήτους εἶναι. καὶ κατέστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐξαγωγεῖς, οἳ κατὰ πόλιν ἑκάστην ἐπελθόντες ἐξ-
3 ήγαγον ἁπάσας τὰς φρουράς. μόνων δὲ Θηβαίων οὐ προσδεξαμένων κατὰ πόλιν γίνεσθαι τὰς σπονδάς, ἀλλὰ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἅπασαν ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων συντέλειαν ταττόντων, καὶ Ἀθηναίων μὲν ἀντειπόντων φιλοτιμότατα, Καλλιστράτου τοῦ[2] δημαγωγοῦ τὸν λόγον διαθεμένου, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων Ἐπαμεινώνδου διαθεμένου λόγον θαυμαστῶς ἐν τῷ κοινῷ συνεδρίῳ, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι πᾶσι συμφώνως αἱ σπονδαὶ συνετελέσθησαν, μόνοι δὲ Θηβαῖοι κριθέντες ἔκσπονδοι, καὶ

[1] Σερούιον Rhodoman : Σερουΐλιον.
[2] δὲ before τοῦ deleted by Reiske.

[1] This peace seems to have been concluded though it did

Sulpicius, and Lucretius. During their term of office 375/4 B.C.
Artaxerxes, King of the Persians, intending to make war on the Egyptians and being busily engaged in organizing a considerable mercenary army, decided to effect a settlement of the wars going on in Greece. For by this means he particularly hoped that the Greeks, once released from their domestic wars, would be more ready to accept mercenary service. Accordingly he sent ambassadors to Greece to urge the cities to enter into a general peace by agreement. The Greeks welcomed his proposal because they wearied of the uninterrupted series of wars, and all agreed to make peace on the condition that all the cities should be independent and free from foreign garrisons. Accordingly the Greeks appointed agents who, going from city to city, proceeded to evacuate all the garrisons. But the Thebans alone would not agree that the ratification of the peace should be made city by city,[1] but insisted that all Boeotia should be listed as subject to the confederacy of the Thebans. When the Athenians opposed this in the most contentious manner, Callistratus, their popular leader, reciting their reasons, while, on behalf of the Thebans, Epameinondas delivered the address before the general assembly with marvellous effect, the result was that though the terms of the peace were harmoniously concluded for all the other Greek states, the Thebans alone were refused participation in

not last long. Ascribed by Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², 3. 1. 156 to the year 375/4 (see also Judeich, "Athen und Theben," *Rheinisches Museum* 76 (1927), 181 and his ascription in note 2 of Cephisodotus' statue of Eirenê to this occasion). Cp. Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 2. 1; Isocrates, *Antidosis*, 109 f., *Plataïcus*, 10; Nepos, *Timotheüs*, 2; Philochorus in Didymus, *de Demosthene*, 7. 64 ff.

τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδου διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς ἐμποιοῦντος φρόνημα τοῖς πολίταις, ἐθάρρησαν τοῖς
4 ἁπάντων δόγμασιν ἀντιβαίνειν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, διὰ πάντων[1] περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας διαφιλοτιμούμενοι, παρεχώρουν ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν τῆς[2] κατὰ γῆν, οἱ δὲ τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχῆς ἄξιοι κρινόμενοι. διόπερ τὴν ἐκ τρίτου προσώπου ἀναφερομένην ἡγεμονίαν χαλεπῶς ἔφερον, καὶ τὰς κατὰ Βοιωτίαν πόλεις ἀπέσπων τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων συντελείας.

39. Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι, τῇ τε ῥώμῃ τῶν σωμάτων καὶ ταῖς ἀλκαῖς διαφέροντες καὶ πολλαῖς μάχαις προνενικηκότες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, μετέωροι τοῖς φρονήμασιν ὑπῆρχον καὶ τῆς κατὰ γῆν ἡγεμονίας ἠμφισβήτουν. οὐ διεψεύσθησαν δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος διὰ τὰς εἰρημένας αἰτίας καὶ διὰ τὸ πλείονας ἔχειν ἀγαθοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ στρατηγοὺς κατὰ
2 τοὺς ὑποκειμένους χρόνους. ἐπιφανέστατοι δ' ἦσαν Πελοπίδας καὶ Γοργίδας[3] καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδας· οὗτος

[1] πάντων P: παντός.
[2] τῆς added by Reiske.
[3] Γοργίδας Casaubon (cp. Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 12, 14, 18, 19): Γοργίας (cp. chap. 50. 6).

[1] Beloch (*l.c.* note 1) thinks that Diodorus has confused this peace with the peace concluded three years later before Leuctra from which Epameinondas withdrew. Judeich (*op. cit.* pp. 182-183) accepts Diodorus' account of this peace of 374 and believes that Epameinondas may well have addressed the league synhedrion at Athens, to which he thinks Diodorus refers. In any case Thebes remained in the Athenian confederacy, as is shown in Isocrates, *Plataïcus*, 21; Demosthenes, *In Timotheüm*, 14, 21, 40 ff. If Diodorus means by

them[1]; and, through the influence of Epameinondas, 375/4 B.C.
who by his own personal merits inspired his fellow citizens with patriotic spirit, they were emboldened to make a stand against the decision of all the rest. For the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, who had constantly been rivals for the hegemony, now yielded one to the other, the one being judged worthy to rule on land, the other on the sea. They were consequently annoyed by the claims to leadership advanced by a third contender and sought to sever the Boeotian cities from the Theban confederation.[2]

39. The Thebans, who excelled in bodily strength and prowess and had already conquered the Lacedaemonians in numerous battles, were elated in spirit and eager to dispute the supremacy on land. Nor were they cheated of their hope, both for the aforesaid reasons and because they had more good commanders and generals during the period under consideration. Most famous were Pelopidas, Gorgi-

synhedrion an assembly of the members of the second Athenian confederacy, as Judeich seems to think, and not a general peace conference, the question arises how it happens that Callistratus addresses the assembly in which Athens by the terms of the league has no voice. Possibly we are to interpret the κοινόν as a joint meeting of the league assembly and the Athenians. But Diodorus, chap. 28. 3, uses the term κοινὸν συνέδριον of the common council of the league which seems to mean the council of the allies. Callistratus may have spoken in the Athenian assembly only, while Epameinondas addressed the allies in their council.

[2] The ethnic league of the Boeotians was reorganized under Thebes in 394 B.C. but was under an eclipse from 387 to this time. In 371, the Theban envoys claim the right of Thebes (cp. chap. 50. 4; Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 3. 19) to sign for the rest of Boeotia as Sparta did for Laconia. Thebes, like Prussia in the German Bund, held the predominance by being able to command the majority of the votes.

γὰρ οὐ μόνον τῶν ὁμοεθνούντων ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων Ἑλλήνων πολὺ προέσχεν ἀνδρείᾳ τε καὶ στρατηγικῇ συνέσει. μετέσχε γὰρ ἐπὶ πολὺ πάσης παιδείας, καὶ μάλιστα τῆς Πυθαγορικῆς φιλοσοφίας· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις φυσικοῖς προτερήμασι κεχορηγημένος, εἰκότως καὶ πράξεις ἐπιφανεστάτας συνετέλεσεν. διὸ καὶ συναναγκασθεὶς ὀλίγοις πολιτικοῖς στρατιώταις πρὸς πάσας τὰς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων δυνάμεις ἀγωνίσασθαι, τοσοῦτον ὑπερέσχε τῶν ἀνικήτων στρατιωτῶν, ὥστε τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν[1] Κλεόμβροτον ἀνελεῖν τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν ἀντιταχθέντων ἄρδην σχεδὸν κατα-
3 κόψαι. καὶ τὰ τηλικαῦτα παραδόξως διεπράξατο διὰ τὴν ἀγχίνοιαν καὶ τὴν ἐκ παιδείας αὐτῷ περιγεγενημένην ἀρετήν.

Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἐκτεθεῖσι[2] σαφέστερον δηλώσομεν, νῦν δ' ἐπὶ τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ἱστορίας τρεψόμεθα.

40. Μετὰ γὰρ τὴν συγχωρηθεῖσαν τοῖς δήμοις αὐτονομίαν αἱ πόλεις ἐνέπιπτον εἰς ταραχὰς μεγάλας καὶ στάσεις, μάλιστα δὲ αἱ κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον. ὀλιγαρχικοῖς γὰρ πολιτεύμασι κεχρημέναι καὶ ταῖς τῆς δημοκρατίας ἐξουσίαις ἀπειραγάθως χρώμεναι, πολλοὺς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐφυγάδευον καὶ κρίσεις ἐπιβάλλουσαι συκοφαντώδεις

[1] Σπαρτιατῶν] Λακεδαιμονίων AHJK.
[2] ἐκτεθεῖσι PAJK] ἐκτεθησομένοις cet.

[1] Though Diodorus has Gorgias in two places, all other writers mentioning the Theban general of this period give only Gorgidas (see P.-W. *Realencyclopädie*, *s.v.* "Gorgidas").

das,[1] and Epameinondas. Epameinondas,[2] indeed, far 375/4 B.C.
excelled not merely those of his own race but even all Greeks in valour and shrewdness in the art of war. He had a broad general education, being particularly interested in the philosophy of Pythagoras.[3] Besides this, being well endowed with physical advantages, it is natural that he contributed very distinguished achievements. Hence even when compelled with a very few citizen soldiers to fight against all the armies of the Lacedaemonians and their allies, he was so far superior to these heretofore invincible warriors that he slew the Spartan king Cleombrotus, and almost completely annihilated the multitude of his opponents.[4] Such were the remarkable deeds which he unexpectedly performed because of his astuteness and the moral excellence he had derived from his education.

However, we shall somewhat later [5] explain these matters more fully in a special chapter; at present we shall turn to the thread of our narrative.

40. After autonomy had been conceded to the various peoples,[6] the cities fell into great disturbances and internal strife, particularly in the Peloponnese. For having been used to oligarchic institutions and now taking foolish advantage of the liberties which democracy allows itself, they exiled many of their good[7] citizens, and, trumping up charges against them,

[2] See his life by Nepos, and Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 3, 4.
[3] His Pythagorean instructor was Lysis of Tarentum (Nepos, *Epameinondas*, 2. 2).
[4] At Leuctra, see chaps. 53 ff.
[5] See chap. 88.
[6] See chap. 38. 2.
[7] "Good" is used in the political sense: "conservative," though doubtless Diodorus thought they were really good.

κατεδίκαζον. διόπερ εἰς στάσεις ἐμπίπτουσαι φυγὰς καὶ δημεύσεις οὐσιῶν ἐποιοῦντο, μάλιστα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγεμονίας
2 προεστηκότας τῶν πατρίδων. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τότε χρόνοις ἐπιτακτικῶς ἐκείνων τοῖς πολίταις προσενηνεγμένων, ὕστερον ὁ δημοτικὸς ὄχλος ἀπολαβὼν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐμνησικάκει. πρῶτον δὲ τῶν Φιαλέων οἱ φυγάδες συστραφέντες κατελάβοντο τὴν καλουμένην Ἡραίαν, χωρίον ὀχυρόν. ἐκ ταύτης δ' ὁρμηθέντες παρεισέπεσον εἰς τὴν Φιάλειαν, καὶ Διονυσίων κατὰ τύχην ὄντων ἐπιπεσόντες ἀπροσδοκήτως τοῖς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καθημένοις, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποσφάξαντες, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ συναπονοήσασθαι πείσαντες, ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην.
3 οἱ δὲ τῆς Κορίνθου φυγάδες, συχνοὶ διατρίβοντες παρὰ τοῖς Ἀργείοις, ἐπεχείρησαν κατιέναι· παραδεχθέντες δ' ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑπό τινων οἰκείων καὶ φίλων, διαβληθέντες ἐγένοντο[1] περικατάληπτοι· μέλλοντες δὲ συναρπάζεσθαι, καὶ φοβούμενοι τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἁλώσεως αἰκίαν, ἀλλήλους ἀπέκτειναν. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν αἰτιασάμενοι μετεσχηκέναι τοῖς φυγάσι τῆς ἐπιθέσεως, οὓς μὲν
4 ἀπέκτειναν, οὓς δ' ἐφυγάδευσαν. ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει τῶν Μεγαρέων ἐπιχειρήσαντές τινες μεταστῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ κρατηθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνῃρέθησαν, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δ' ἐξέπεσον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Σικυωνίοις τινὲς νεωτερί-

[1] τε after ἐγένοντο deleted by Vogel; δέ, ἐγένοντο Dindorf, Bekker.

[1] Phialeia, in the south-western corner of Arcadia. The more ancient name was Phigaleia, which later came back into use.

condemned them. Thus falling into internal strife 375/4 B.C. they had recourse to exilings and confiscations of property, particularly against those who during the Spartan hegemony had been leaders of their native cities. Indeed in those times the oligarchs had exercised authoritative control over their fellow citizens, and later as the democratic mob recovered its freedom it harboured a grudge. First, however, the exiles of Phialeia,[1] rallying their forces, recovered Heraea,[2] as it is called, a stronghold. And setting out from there, they swooped down upon Phialeia,[3] and at a time when, as it happened, the festival of Dionysus was being celebrated, they fell unexpectedly upon the spectators in the theatre, killed many, persuaded not a few to participate in their folly, and retreated to Sparta. And the exiles from Corinth, who, many in number, were living among the Argives, attempted to return, but though admitted into the city by some of their relatives and friends, they were denounced and surrounded, and, as they were about to be apprehended, fearful of the maltreatment their capture would entail, they slew one another. The Corinthians, having charged many of their citizens with assisting the exiles in the attack, put some to death and exiled others. Again, in the city of the Megarians, when some persons endeavoured to overturn the government and were overpowered by the democracy, many were slain and not a few driven into exile. Likewise among the Sicyonians as well

[2] Heraea, an Arcadian town, near the frontier of Elis, on the road from Arcadia to Olympia.

[3] Beloch (*Griechische Geschichte*², 3. 1. 174, notes 2, 4) would assign these instances of party strife to the period after Leuctra. Glotz (3. 151, note 22) likewise. See Isocrates, *Archidamus*, 64-69.

ζειν ἐπιβαλόμενοι καὶ σφαλέντες[1] *ἀνῃρέθησαν.* 5 *παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Φλιασίοις πολλῶν φυγαδευομένων καὶ καταλαβομένων ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας φρούριον ὀχυρὸν καὶ πλῆθος μισθοφόρων ἀθροισάντων, ἐγένετο μάχη πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ νικησάντων τῶν φυγάδων ἀνῃρέθησαν τῶν Φλιασίων ὑπὲρ τοὺς τριακοσίους. ὕστερον δὲ προδόντων τῶν φυλάκων τοὺς φυγάδας, κρατήσαντες οἱ Φλιάσιοι τῶν φυγάδων ἀνεῖλον πλείους τῶν ἑξακοσίων, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἠνάγκασαν φυγεῖν εἰς Ἄργος. αἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Πελοπόννησον πόλεις ἐν τοιαύταις συμφοραῖς ἦσαν.*

41. *Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Σωκρατίδου Ῥωμαῖοι ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλιάρχους κατέστησαν τέτταρας, Κόιντον Σερουίλιον,*[2] *Σερουίον*[3] *Κορνήλιον, ἔτι δὲ Σπόριον Παπίριον.*[4] *ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' Αἰγυπτίους ἀφεστηκότας ἀπὸ Περσῶν. ἡγοῦντο δὲ τῶν δυνάμεων Φαρνάβαζος μὲν τῶν βαρβαρικῶν, Ἰφικράτης δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος τῶν μισθοφόρων, ὄντων δισμυρίων. ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ οὗτος μετάπεμπτος ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐτάχθη διὰ τὴν ἐν* 2 *τῷ στρατηγεῖν ἀρετήν. ἔτη δὲ πλείω τοῦ Φαρναβάζου κατανηλωκότος περὶ τὰς παρασκευάς, ὁ μὲν Ἰφικράτης ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ἐν μὲν τῷ λέγειν ὄντα δεινόν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πραττομένοις νωχελῆ, παρρησίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐχρήσατο, φήσας θαυμάζειν πῶς ἐν*

[1] *σφαλέντες* Dindorf: *σταλέντες* PAHL, *γνωσθέντες* FJK.
[2] *Σερουίλιον* P: *Κράσσον Σερουίλιον.*

a number who tried to effect a revolution but failed 375/4 B.C. were killed. Among the Phliasians, when many who were in exile had seized a stronghold in the country and gathered a considerable number of mercenaries, a battle was fought against the city party, and, when the exiles won the victory, over three hundred of the Phliasians were slain. Later, as the sentinels betrayed the exiles, the Phliasians got the upper hand and executed more than six hundred exiles, while they drove the rest out of the country and compelled them to take refuge in Argos. Such were the disasters that afflicted the Peloponnesian cities.

41. When Socratides was archon at Athens, the 374/3 B.C. Romans elected four military tribunes with consular power, Quintus Servilius, Servius Cornelius, and Spurius Papirius. During their term of office King Artaxerxes sent an expedition against the Egyptians,[1] who had revolted from Persia. The leaders of the army were Pharnabazus, commanding the barbarian contingent, and Iphicrates[2] the Athenian, commanding the mercenaries, who numbered twenty thousand. Iphicrates, who had been summoned for the campaign by the King, was given the assignment because of his strategic skill. After Pharnabazus had wasted several years making his preparations, Iphicrates, perceiving that though in talk he was clever, he was sluggish in action, frankly told him that he marvelled that

[1] Other accounts: Nepos, *Iphicrates*, 2. 4; Trogus, *Prologue to 10*; Plutarch, *Artaxerxes*, 24; Polyaenus, 3. 9. 38, 56, 59.
[2] See chap. 29. 3-4 for Artaxerxes' request for the services of Iphicrates.

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[3] *Σερουίον* added by Rhodoman (cp. Livy, 6. 22. 1).
[4] *Παπίριον* PA: *Παπύριον καὶ Φάβιον* Ἄλβον.

μὲν τοῖς λόγοις ἐστὶν ὀξύς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις βραδύς. ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἀπεκρίθη, διότι τῶν μὲν λόγων
3 αὐτὸς κύριός ἐστι, τῶν δ' ἔργων ὁ βασιλεύς. τῆς δὲ τῶν Περσῶν δυνάμεως ἀθροισθείσης εἰς πόλιν Ἄκην, ἠριθμήθησαν τῶν μὲν βαρβάρων εἴκοσι μυριάδες, ὧν ἦρχε Φαρνάβαζος[1]· τῶν δὲ μισθοφόρων Ἑλλήνων Ἰφικράτης ἡγεῖτο δισμυρίων. καὶ ναῦς ἠριθμήθησαν τριήρεις μὲν τριακόσιαι, τριακόντοροι δὲ διακόσιαι· τῶν δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
4 παρασκευὴν κομιζουσῶν πολὺς ἦν ἀριθμός. ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ θέρους ἀνέζευξαν οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγοὶ μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ τοῦ στόλου συμπαραπλέοντος[2] προῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον. ὡς δ' ἧκον πλησίον τοῦ Νείλου, κατέλαβον τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους φανερῶς παρεσκευασμένους τὰ
5 πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ γὰρ Φαρνάβαζος βραδεῖαν τὴν στρατείαν ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐδεδώκει τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰς τὴν παρασκευήν. ὡς ἐπίπαν γὰρ οἱ τῶν Περσῶν στρατηγοί, τῶν ὅλων οὐκ ὄντες αὐτοκράτορες, περὶ πάντων ἀναφέρουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ προσαναμένουσι τὰς περὶ ἑκάστων[3] ἀποκρίσεις.

42. Ὁ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς Νεκτάνεβις ἐπυνθάνετο μὲν τὸ μέγεθος τῶν Περσικῶν δυνάμεων, ἐθάρρει δὲ μάλιστα μὲν τῇ τῆς χώρας ὀχυρότητι, δυσπροσίτου παντελῶς οὔσης τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ἔπειτα καὶ τῷ πεφράχθαι καλῶς πάσας εἰσβολὰς
2 τάς τε ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ θαλάττης. ἑπτὰ στόμασι γὰρ τοῦ[4] Νείλου τὰς εἰς τὸ Αἰγύπτιον

[1] Φαρνάβαζος Wesseling: ἀρτάβαζος.
[2] συμπαραπλέοντος Wurm: συμπαρόντος.
[3] ἑκάστων Reiske: ἕκαστον.

anyone so quick in speech could be so dilatory in 374/3 B.C.
action. Phranabazus replied that it was because he was master of his words but the King was master of his actions. When the Persian army had assembled at the city of Acê[1] it numbered two hundred thousand barbarians under the command of Pharnabazus and twenty thousand[2] Greek mercenaries led by Iphicrates. The triremes numbered three hundred and the thirty-oared vessels two hundred. The number of those conveying food and other supplies was great. At the beginning of the summer[3] the King's generals broke camp with the entire army, and accompanied by the fleet sailing along the coast proceeded to Egypt. When they came near the Nile they found that the Egyptians had manifestly completed their preparations for the war. For Pharnabazus marched slowly and had given plenty of time for the enemy to prepare. Indeed it is the usual custom for the Persian commanders, not being independent in the general conduct of war, to refer all matters to the King and await his replies concerning every detail.

42. The Egyptian king Nectanebôs learned the size of the Persian armies, but was emboldened, chiefly by the strength of the country, for Egypt is extremely difficult of approach, and secondly by the fact that all points of invasion from land or sea had been carefully blocked. For the Nile empties into the Egyptian

[1] Later St. Jean d'Acre, or simply Acre.
[2] 12,000 in Nepos, *l.c.*
[3] Spring 373 just before Nile flood (chap. 43. 4). In the autumn Iphicrates was again in Athens where he was elected general (chap. 43. 5-6).

[4] στόμασι γὰρ τοῦ Reiske: στόμασι· τοῦ γάρ.

πέλαγος ἐκβολὰς ποιουμένου, καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν στομάτων πόλις κατεσκεύαστο πύργους μεγάλους ἔχουσα καθ' ἑκάτερον τοῦ ῥείθρου[1] καὶ ξυλίνην γέφυραν τοῦ εἴσπλου κυριεύουσαν. μάλιστα δὲ τὸ Πηλουσιακὸν στόμα κατεσκεύασε[2] διὰ τὸ κεῖσθαι μὲν αὐτὸ πρῶτον πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ Συρίας πορευομένους καὶ δοκεῖν διὰ τούτου μάλιστ' ἂν[3] ποιεῖσθαι

3 τὴν ἔφοδον τοὺς πολεμίους. τοῦτο γὰρ ἀπετάφρευσε, καὶ διετείχισε τοὺς εἴσπλους κατὰ τοὺς εὐκαιροτάτους τόπους, καὶ τῶν προσόδων τὰς μὲν κατὰ γῆν πορευτὰς[4] ἐποίησε λιμνάζειν, τὰς δὲ πλωτὰς χώμασιν ἐνέφραττεν. διόπερ οὐκ ἦν ῥᾳδίως οὔτε ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰσπλέειν οὔτε τοῖς ἱππεῦσι

4 προσπελάσαι οὔτε τοῖς πεζοῖς προσελθεῖν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον στρατηγοί, καταλαβόντες τὸ Πηλουσιακὸν στόμα θαυμαστῶς ὠχυρωμένον καὶ στρατιωτῶν πλήθει φυλαττόμενον, τὸ μὲν διὰ τούτου βιάζεσθαι παντελῶς ἀπεδοκίμασαν δι' ἑτέρου δὲ στόματος ἔγνωσαν ποιεῖσθαι τὸν εἴσπλουν. διὸ πλεύσαντες πελάγιοι πρὸς τὸ μὴ καθορᾶσθαι τὰς ναῦς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, κατέπλευσαν πρὸς τὸ[5] στόμα τὸ καλούμενον Μενδήσιον, ἔχον ᾐόνα παρήκουσαν ἐφ' ἱκανὸν τόπον. εἰς ταύτην ἀποβάντες μετὰ στρατιωτῶν τρισχιλίων ὅ τε Φαρνάβαζος καὶ ὁ Ἰφικράτης προῆγον ἐπὶ τὸ τετειχισμένον ἐπὶ τοῦ

5 στόματος πολισμάτιον. ἐκβοηθησάντων δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱππεῦσί τε καὶ πεζοῖς τρισχιλίοις, γενομένης τε μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ τοῖς Πέρσαις πολλῶν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν προσγεγενημένων, κυκλωθέντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπέθανον, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δ'

[1] τοῦ ῥείθρου Vulgate, ῥείθρου P, ῥεῖθρον Vogel.
[2] κατεσκεύασε Wesseling : κατεσκεύασαν.

Sea by seven mouths,[1] and at each mouth a city had 374/3 B.C.
been established along with great towers on each bank of the stream and a wooden bridge commanding its entrance. He especially fortified the Pelusiac mouth because it is the first to be encountered by those approaching from Syria and seemed to be the most likely route of the enemy approach. He dug channels connecting with this, fortified the entrances for ships at the most suitable points, and inundated the approaches by land while blocking the sea approaches by embankments. Accordingly it was not easy either for the ships to sail in, or for the cavalry to draw near, or for the infantry to approach. Pharnabazus' staff, finding the Pelusiac mouth so remarkably fortified and guarded by a multitude of soldiers, rejected utterly the plan of forcing a way through it and decided to make the invasion by ship through another mouth. Accordingly they voyaged on the open sea so that the ships should not be sighted by the enemy, and sailed in by the mouth known as Mendesian, which had a beach stretching over a considerable space. Landing here with three thousand men, Pharnabazus and Iphicrates pushed forward to the walled stronghold at the mouth. The Egyptians rushed out with three thousand horse and infantry, and a sharp battle ensued, but many men from their ships came to increase the number of the Persians, until finally the Egyptians were surrounded, many slain, and not a few captured alive ; and the rest

[1] See Book 1. 33. 5 ff.

[3] μάλιστ' ἂν Post : μάλιστα.
[4] πορευτὰς Reiske : πορείας.
[5] τὸ] omitted by PFJ, Vogel.

ἐζωγρήθησαν· οἱ δὲ περιλειφθέντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνεδιώχθησαν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰφικράτην συνεισπεσόντες τοῖς φρουροῦσιν ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν, καὶ κρατήσαντες τοῦ φρουρίου, τοῦτο μὲν κατέσκαψαν, τοὺς δ' ἐνοικοῦντας ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο.

43. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐνέπεσε στάσις, δι' ἣν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἐσφάλησαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἰφικράτης παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων πυθόμενος ἔρημον εἶναι τὴν Μέμφιν, ἐπικαιροτάτην οὖσαν πόλιν τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον, συνεβούλευεν ἐξαυτῆς ἀναπλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Μέμφιν πρὸ τοῦ παραγενέσθαι τὰς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων δυνάμεις· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ᾤοντο δεῖν ἀναμένειν τὴν ὅλην δύναμιν τῶν Περσῶν· ἀσφαλεστέραν γὰρ ἔσεσθαι τὴν στρατείαν
2 ἐπὶ τὴν Μέμφιν. τοῦ δ' Ἰφικράτους ἀξιοῦντος αὐτῷ[1] δοθῆναι τοὺς παρόντας μισθοφόρους, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων ἐπαγγελλομένου κρατήσειν τῆς πόλεως, τό τε θράσος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑπώπτευσε, μὴ κατ' ἰδίαν κατάσχῃ τὴν Αἴγυπτον. διόπερ οὐ συγχωροῦντος τοῦ Φαρναβάζου, ὁ Ἰφικράτης διεμαρτύρατο, λέγων ὡς ἐὰν παρῶσι τὴν ὀξύτητα τῶν καιρῶν, ἄπρακτον ποιήσουσι τὴν ὅλην[2] στρατιάν. στρατηγοὶ μὲν οὖν τινες[3] ἐφθόνουν
3 αὐτῷ καὶ διαβολὰς ἀδίκους προσῆπτον. οἱ δ' Αἰγύπτιοι πολλὴν ἀναστροφὴν λαβόντες, εἰς μὲν τὴν Μέμφιν ἐξέπεμψαν τὴν ἱκανὴν φυλακήν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ πεπορθημένον πολισμάτιον πάσαις ταῖς δυνάμεσι παραγενόμενοι, καὶ πολλὰ πλεονεκτοῦντες διὰ τὴν τῶν τόπων[4] ὀχυρότητα, συμπλοκὰς ἐποιοῦντο

[1] αὐτῷ Dindorf: αὑτῷ.   [2] ὅλην Sintenis: πολλήν.

were driven in confusion into the city. Iphicrates' men dashed in with the defenders inside the walls, took possession of the fortress, razed it, and enslaved the inhabitants. 374/3 B.C.

43. After this, discord set in amongst the commanders, causing the failure of the enterprise. For Iphicrates, learning from the captives that Memphis,[1] the most strategically situated of the Egyptian cities, was undefended, advised sailing immediately up to Memphis before the Egyptian forces arrived there, but Pharnabazus thought they should await the entire Persian force; for in this way the campaign against Memphis would be less dangerous. When Iphicrates demanded that he be given the mercenaries that were on hand and promised if he had them to capture the city, Pharnabazus became suspicious of his boldness and his courage for fear lest he take possession of Egypt for himself. Accordingly when Pharnabazus would not yield, Iphicrates protested that if they let slip the exact moment of opportunity, they would make the whole campaign a failure. Some generals indeed bore a grudge against him and were attempting to fasten unfair charges upon him. Meanwhile the Egyptians, having had plenty of time to recuperate, first sent an adequate garrison into Memphis, and then, proceeding with all their forces against the ravaged stronghold at the Mendesian mouth of the Nile and being now at a great advantage owing to the strength of their position, fought constant engagements with the

[1] See Book 1. 50. 3 ff.

[3] στρατηγοὶ μὲν οὖν τινες Capps: om. MSS. Lacuna has been recognized by edd.
[4] τόπων Dindorf: ὅπλων.

τοῖς πολεμίοις συνεχεῖς. αἰεὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπισχύοντες πολλοὺς ἀνῄρουν τῶν Περσῶν καὶ κατεθάρρουν
4 τῶν πολεμίων. χρονιζούσης δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ πολισμάτιον τοῦτο στρατείας, καὶ τῶν ἐτησίων ἤδη γενομένων, ὁ Νεῖλος πληρούμενος καὶ πάντα τόπον ἐπέχων τῷ πλήθει τοῦ ῥεύματος αἰεὶ μᾶλλον ὠχύρου τὴν Αἴγυπτον. οἱ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν ἡγεμόνες, ἀντιπραττούσης αὐτοῖς αἰεὶ[1] τῆς περιστάσεως, ἔγνωσαν[2] ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν ποιή-
5 σασθαι. διόπερ ἐπανιόντων αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, καὶ γενομένης διαφορᾶς τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ πρὸς τὸν Ἰφικράτην, ὑποπτεύσας ὁ Ἰφικράτης μὴ συλληφθῇ καὶ τιμωρίας τύχῃ, καθάπερ Κόνων ἔπαθεν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἔκρινε λάθρᾳ φεύγειν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου· διὸ καὶ παρασκευασάμενος πλοῖον ἔλαθε νυκτὸς ἀπαλλαγεὶς καὶ καταπλεύσας εἰς τὰς
6 Ἀθήνας. ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος πρέσβεις ἐκπέμψας κατηγόρησε τοῦ Ἰφικράτους ὡς αἰτίου γεγονότος τοῦ μὴ ληφθῆναι τὴν Αἴγυπτον. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς μὲν Πέρσαις ἀπόκρισιν ἔδωκαν ὅτι ἐὰν εὕρωσιν αὐτὸν ἠδικηκότα, κολάσουσι κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον στρατηγὸν κατέστησαν τὸν[3] Ἰφικράτην ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικόν.

44. Οὐκ ἀνοίκειον δ' ἐστὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἰφικράτους ἀρετῆς ἱστορούμενα παραθεῖναι. οὗτος γὰρ παραδέδοται στρατηγικήν τε ἀγχίνοιαν ἐσχηκέναι καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐπίνοιαν ἀγαθὴν φύσει κεχρῆσθαι διαφόρῳ. προσλαβόμενον οὖν αὐτὸν τὴν ἐν τῷ

[1] αἰεὶ] deleted by Dindorf, Vogel.
[2] ἔγνωσαν Dindorf: ἔγνωκαν.
[3] So FK: κατεστήσαντο cet.

[1] See Book 1. 39.

enemy. With ever-increasing strength they slew many Persians and gained confidence against them. 374/3 B.C. As the campaign about this stronghold dragged on, and the Etesian winds had already set in, the Nile, which was filling up and flooding [1] the whole region with the abundance of its waters, made Egypt daily more secure. The Persian commanders, as this state of affairs constantly operated against them, decided to withdraw from Egypt. Consequently, on their way back to Asia, when a disagreement arose between him and Pharnabazus, Iphicrates, suspecting that he might be arrested and punished as Conon [2] the Athenian had been, decided to flee secretly from the camp. Accordingly, having secured a ship he covertly got away at night and reached port at Athens. Pharnabazus dispatched ambassadors to Athens and accused Iphicrates of being responsible for the failure to capture Egypt. The Athenians, however, replied to the Persians that if they detected him in wrongdoing they would punish him as he deserved, and shortly afterward appointed Iphicrates general in command of their fleet.

44. It will not be out of place to set forth what I have learned about the remarkable character of Iphicrates. For he is reported to have possessed shrewdness in command and to have enjoyed an exceptional natural genius for every kind of useful invention. Hence we are told, after he had acquired his long

[2] When Antalcidas, the Spartan, went to Tiribazus, satrap of Ionia, in 392, to enlist the aid of Persia against the growing power of Athens, Tiribazus arrested Conon (Xenophon, *Hell.* 4. 8. 16; Book 14. 85), who was acting with the confidence of Pharnabazus. According to one authority Conon was put to death by the Persians in prison, according to another he took refuge with Evagoras in Cyprus, where he died of sickness.

Περσικῷ πολέμῳ πολυχρόνιον ἐμπειρίαν τῶν στρα-
τιωτικῶν ἔργων, ἐπινοήσασθαι πολλὰ τῶν εἰς τὸν
πόλεμον χρησίμων, καὶ μάλιστα[1] περὶ τὸν καθ-
2 οπλισμὸν φιλοτιμηθῆναι. τῶν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων μεγά-
λαις ἀσπίσι χρωμένων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυσκινήτων
ὄντων, συνεῖλε τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ κατεσκεύασε πέλ-
τας συμμέτρους, ἀμφοτέρων[2] εὖ στοχασάμενος, τοῦ
τε σκέπειν ἱκανῶς τὰ σώματα καὶ τοῦ δύνασθαι
τοὺς χρωμένους ταῖς πέλταις διὰ τὴν κουφότητα
3 παντελῶς εὐκινήτους ὑπάρχειν. διὰ δὲ τῆς πείρας
τῆς εὐχρηστίας ἀποδοχῆς τυγχανούσης, οἱ μὲν πρό-
τερον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσπίδων ὁπλῖται καλούμενοι τότε
δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πέλτης πελτασταὶ μετωνομάσθησαν.
ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ δόρατος καὶ τοῦ ξίφους εἰς τοὐναντίον
τὴν μετάθεσιν ἐποιήσατο· ηὔξησε γὰρ τὰ μὲν
δόρατα ἡμιολίῳ μεγέθει, τὰ δὲ ξίφη σχεδὸν δι-
πλάσια κατεσκεύασεν. τὴν δὲ δοκιμασίαν ἡ χρεία
διαβεβαιοῦσα τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῷ τῆς
4 πείρας ἐπιτεύγματι δόξης ἠξίωσεν. τάς τε ὑπο-
δέσεις τοῖς στρατιώταις εὐλύτους καὶ κούφας
ἐποίησε, τὰς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἰφικρατίδας ἀπ' ἐκείνου
καλουμένας. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν χρησίμων
εἰς τὰς στρατείας κατέδειξε, περὶ ὧν μακρὸν ἂν
εἴη γράφειν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατεία
τῶν Περσῶν, μεγάλης τυχοῦσα παρασκευῆς, παρ'
ἐλπίδας ἄπρακτον ἔσχε τὸ τέλος.

45. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ταραττομένων τῶν πόλεων διὰ τὴν ἀσυνήθη πολιτείαν, καὶ πολλῶν

[1] τῶν after μάλιστα deleted by Dindorf.
[2] ἐξ before ἀμφοτέρων deleted by Vogel (cp. chap. 64. 4).

[1] Consult H. W. Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers*, 79 ff.,

experience of military operations in the Persian War, 374/3 B.C.
he devised many improvements in the tools of war, devoting himself especially to the matter of arms. For instance, the Greeks were using shields which were large and consequently difficult to handle; these he discarded and made small oval ones of moderate size, thus successfully achieving both objects, to furnish the body with adequate cover and to enable the user of the small shield, on account of its lightness, to be completely free in his movements. After a trial of the new shield its easy manipulation secured its adoption, and the infantry who had formerly been called "hoplites" because of their heavy shield, then had their name changed to "peltasts" from the light *pelta* they carried.[1] As regards spear and sword, he made changes in the contrary direction: namely, he increased the length of the spears by half, and made the swords almost twice as long. The actual use of these arms confirmed the initial test and from the success of the experiment won great fame for the inventive genius of the general. He made soldiers' boots that were easy to untie and light and they continue to this day to be called "iphicratids" after him. He also introduced many other useful improvements into warfare, but it would be tedious to write about them. So the Persian expedition against Egypt, for all its huge preparations, disappointed expectations and proved a failure in the end.

45. Throughout Greece now that its several states were in confusion because of unwonted forms of

who quotes this passage and upholds Diodorus in that "he regards the peltast's equipment as a modification introduced into *hoplite* troops." See also Nepos, *Iphicrates*, 1. 3-4.

ἐπανισταμένων διὰ τὴν κοινὴν ἀναρχίαν, τοῖς μὲν τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας κατασκευάζουσιν ἐβοήθουν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τοῖς δὲ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀντεχομένοις
2 συνεμάχουν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. ἀμφότεραι γὰρ αἱ πόλεις αὗται χρόνον ὀλίγον διετήρησαν τὰς σπονδάς, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συμπράττουσαι ταῖς οἰκείαις πόλεσιν ἐπολέμουν, οὐδὲν ἔτι φροντίζοντες τῆς κοινῆς συντεθείσης εἰρήνης. διόπερ ἐν Ζακύνθῳ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιστασίας κυρίοις γεγονόσι τοῦ πολιτεύματος ὁ δῆμος χαλεπῶς ἔχων καὶ μνησικακῶν ἐφυγάδευσε πάντας.[1] . . . οὗτοι δὲ πρὸς Τιμόθεον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἡγούμενον τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καταφυγόντες συνέπλεον αὐτῷ καὶ συνεμάχουν.
3 τοῦτον οὖν παραστησάμενοι συνεργόν, καὶ διαβιβασθέντες εἰς τὴν νῆσον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, κατελάβοντο χωρίον ὀχυρὸν παρὰ θάλατταν ὃ προσηγόρευον Ἀρκαδίαν. ἐκ τούτου δ' ὁρμώμενοι καὶ βοηθὸν ἔχοντες τὸν Τιμόθεον, ἐκακοποίουν τοὺς ἐν τῇ
4 πόλει. τῶν δὲ Ζακυνθίων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀξιούντων βοηθῆσαι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀποστείλαντες πρέσβεις κατηγόρουν τοῦ Τιμοθέου· ὡς δ' ἐθεώρουν τὸν δῆμον ἀποκλίνοντα πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας, συνεστήσαντο ναυτικόν, καὶ πληρώσαντες

[1] Lacuna noted by Palmer, since οὗτοι cannot refer to Lacedaemonian sympathizers (πάντας).

[1] See chap. 38. 1.
[2] The sense seems to be: "Restored by the Lacedaemonians, these exiles banished their enemies in their turn."
[3] Arcadia may have been the name of the fortress and

government, and many uprisings were occurring in the midst of the general anarchy, the Lacedaemonians gave assistance to such as were trying to establish oligarchies, while the Athenians supported those groups which clung to democracy. For both these states did maintain the truce[1] for a short time, but then, acting in co-operation with their affiliated cities renewed the war, no longer respecting the general peace that had been agreed upon. So it came about that in Zacynthos the popular party, being angry and resentful toward those who had held control of the government during the domination of the Lacedaemonians, drove them all into exile. . . .[2] These Zacynthians, having taken refuge with Timotheüs the Athenian in charge of the fleet, joined his naval force and fought with him. Accordingly they made him their confederate, were transported by him to the island, and seized a stronghold by the sea which they called Arcadia.[3] With this as their base and having the support of Timotheüs they inflicted damage upon those in the city.[4] And when the Zacynthians asked the Lacedaemonians to help them, these latter at first sent envoys to Athens to denounce Timotheüs; but then, seeing that the Athenian people favoured the exiles,[5] they organized a fleet, and manning 374/3 B.C.

Nellus, *IG*², 43. 133-134, the name of the mountain on which it was constructed (see Dittenberger³, 1. 147, note 48).
[4] See account in Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 2. 2-3. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², 3. 1. 156, places the attack after the formation of the peace in the late autumn of 375. Cary, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 77, gives 374.
[5] They even went so far as to make the Zacynthian democrats members of the league (*Cambridge Ancient History*, *ibid.*). See inscription list, *IG*², 43. 131 ff., where the Zacynthians appear as the last addition to the list. Dittenberger³, 1. 147, note 42, gives the date 374.

τριήρεις εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐξέπεμψαν τοῖς Ζακυνθίοις συμμαχίαν, δόντες τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ἀριστοκράτει.

46. Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις τῶν ἐκ Κορκύρας τινὲς φίλοι Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπαναστάντες τῷ δήμῳ, παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ἀποστεῖλαι ναυτικὴν δύναμιν, ὑπισχνούμενοι παραδώσειν αὐτοῖς τὴν Κόρκυραν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὴν Κόρκυραν εἰδότες μεγάλην ῥοπὴν ἔχουσαν τοῖς ἀντεχομένοις τῆς θαλάττης, ἔσπευσαν κύριοι γενέσθαι
2 ταύτης τῆς πόλεως. εὐθὺς οὖν ἔπεμψαν εἰς τὴν Κόρκυραν τριήρεις εἴκοσι καὶ δύο, τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ἀλκίδᾳ παραδόντες. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν στόλον προσεποιήθησαν εἰς Σικελίαν ἀποστεῖλαι, ἵνα ὡς φίλοι προσδεχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Κορκυραίων κατάσχωσι
3 τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τῶν φυγάδων. οἱ δὲ Κορκυραῖοι γνόντες τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν τὴν ἐπίνοιαν, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐπιμελῶς ἐφύλαττον, εἰς δὲ τὰς Ἀθήνας πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψαν περὶ βοηθείας. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ψηφισάμενοι βοηθεῖν τοῖς Κορκυραίοις καὶ Ζακυνθίων τοῖς φυγάσιν,[1] εἰς μὲν τὴν Ζάκυνθον ἐξέπεμψαν Κτησικλέα στρατηγόν, ἡγούμενον τῶν φυγάδων, εἰς δὲ τὴν Κόρκυραν παρεσκευάζοντο ναυτικὴν δύναμιν ἐκπέμπειν.

4 Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις κατὰ τὴν Βοιωτίαν Πλαταιεῖς ἀντεχόμενοι τῆς Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίας μετεπέμποντο στρατιώτας, κεκρικότες τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ βοιωτάρχαι χαλεπῶς διατεθέντες πρὸς τοὺς Πλαταιεῖς, καὶ σπεύδοντες φθάσαι τὴν παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίαν, εὐθὺς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς δύναμιν

[1] Ζακυνθίων τοῖς φυγάσιν] Λακεδαιμονίων τοῖς συμμάχοις AHJK.

twenty-five triremes sent them to assist the Zacynthians, placing Aristocrates in command.[1] 374/3 B.C.

46. While these things were going on, some partisans of the Lacedaemonians in Corcyra revolted against the democracy and called upon the Spartans to dispatch a fleet, promising to betray Corcyra to them. The Lacedaemonians, aware of the great importance that Corcyra had for the aspirants to sea power, made haste to possess themselves of this city.[2] So they immediately dispatched to Corcyra twenty-two triremes, having given the command to Alcidas. They pretended that this expedition was sent to Sicily, in order to be received as friends by the Corcyraeans and then with the assistance of the exiles to occupy the city. But the Corcyraeans, discovering the design of the Spartans, kept careful guard over the city and sent envoys to Athens to get help. The Athenians voted help for the Corcyraeans and the Zacynthian exiles, sent to Zacynthos Ctesicles as general in command of the exiles, and prepared to dispatch a naval force to Corcyra.

While these things were going on, the Plataeans in Boeotia, clinging to the alliance with the Athenians, sent to them for soldiers, having decided to hand their city over to the Athenians. At this the Boeotarchs[3] became incensed with the Plataeans, and, being eager to forestall the allied force from Athens, immediately brought a considerable army against

[1] He must have been Spartan nauarch for 375/4 according to Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², 2. 2. 281.

[2] As to the Lacedaemonian aggression see Cary, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 77 and Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 2. 4. Note the intervention of Dionysius in chap. 47. 7.

[3] Annual officials, eleven in number, of the Boeotian League.

5 ἀξιόλογον ἦγον. παραγενόμενοι δὲ πλησίον τῆς τῶν Πλαταιέων πόλεως, ἀπροσδοκήτου τῆς ἐπιθέσεως γενομένης, οἱ πλεῖστοι μὲν τῶν Πλαταιέων ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας καταληφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων συνηρπάγησαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ καταφυγόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ συμμάχων ὄντες ἔρημοι, συνηναγκάσθησαν ὁμολογίας συνθέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐαρέστους· ἔδει γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὰ ἔπιπλα λαβόντας ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ μηκέτι τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐπιβαίνειν.
6 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι τὰς Πλαταιὰς κατασκάψαντες καὶ Θεσπιὰς ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς αὐτοὺς διακειμένας ἐξεπόρθησαν, οἱ δὲ Πλαταιεῖς εἰς Ἀθήνας μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν φυγόντες τῆς ἰσοπολιτείας ἔτυχον διὰ τὴν χρηστότητα τοῦ δήμου.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Βοιωτίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

47. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ στρατηγὸν καταστήσαντες Μνάσιππον ἐξαπέστειλαν ἐπὶ τὴν Κόρκυραν, ἔχοντα τριήρεις μὲν ἑξήκοντα καὶ πέντε, στρατιώτας δὲ χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους. οὗτος δὲ καταπλεύσας εἰς τὴν νῆσον καὶ προσλαβόμενος τοὺς φυγάδας εἰσέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν λιμένα καὶ τεττάρων μὲν νεῶν ἐκυρίευσε, τῶν δὲ ὑπολοίπων τριῶν νεῶν φυγουσῶν πρὸς τὴν γῆν, αὗται μὲν ἐνεπρήσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Κορκυραίων, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑποχείριοι γένωνται. ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ πεζῇ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ

[1] See also Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 3. 1 and 5; Isocrates, *Plataïcus*; Pausanias, 9. 1. 8, sets the fall of Plataeae in 373/2 when Asteius was archon.

[2] See chap. 51. 3 and Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 3. 1. Pausanias, 9. 14, seems to place the destruction of Thespiae after the battle of Leuctra.

the Plataeans.[1] They reached the neighbourhood of Plataeae when the attack was not expected, so that a large number of the Plataeans were arrested in the fields and carried off by the cavalry, while the rest, who had escaped to the city, being helpless without any allies, were forced to make a covenant agreeable to their enemies; they were obliged, namely, to depart from the city with their movable possessions and never again to set foot on Boeotian soil. Thereupon the Thebans, having razed Plataeae completely, pillaged Thespiae [2] as well, which was at odds with them. The Plataeans with their wives and children, having fled to Athens, received equality of civic rights [3] as a mark of favour from the Athenian people. 374/3 B.C.

Such was the state of affairs in Boeotia.

47. The Lacedaemonians appointed Mnasippus [4] general and ordered him to proceed to Corcyra with sixty-five triremes, his forces consisting of fifteen hundred soldiers. Touching at the island, he picked up the exiles, then sailed into the harbour and captured four ships, the three remaining ships having fled to the shore, where they were burned by the Corcyraeans to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. He also defeated with his infantry

[3] A privilege rarely accorded by the Athenians in these days. The democrats of Samos had been accorded this privilege near the close of the Peloponnesian War. The Plataeans had been granted citizenship in the same war and Meyer (*Geschichte des Altertums*, 5. 399) contends that this still held. This grant of ἰσοπολιτεία seems not to have been of the Hellenistic type (W. S. Ferguson, *Greek Imperialism*, 31), by which the citizen of one state enjoyed certain privileges (cp. *civitas sine suffragio*) in another state during residence there.

[4] Late summer 373 (Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², 3. 1. 158). See Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 2. 3-15.

λόφον τινὰ κατειλημμένους, καὶ καθόλου πολὺν
2 φόβον τοῖς Κορκυραίοις ἐπέστησεν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ πάλαι μὲν ἀπεστάλκεισαν Τιμόθεον τὸν Κόνωνος ἐπὶ βοήθειαν τοῖς Κορκυραίοις μετὰ νεῶν ἑξήκοντα· οὗτος δὲ πρὸ τῆς συμμαχίας ταύτης πλεύσας ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης, καὶ πολλὰς πόλεις ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν προσκαλεσάμενος, προσέθηκε τριάκοντα τριήρεις·
3 τότε δὲ καθυστερῶν τῆς τῶν Κορκυραίων συμμαχίας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπέβαλε τὴν στρατηγίαν, τοῦ δήμου χαλεπῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν διατεθέντος· ὡς δὲ παρέπλευσεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἄγων πρέσβεων πλῆθος τῶν τὴν συμμαχίαν συντιθεμένων καὶ τριάκοντα τριήρεις προστεθεικώς, πάντα δὲ τὸν στόλον εὖ κατεσκευακὼς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, μετενόησεν ὁ δῆμος καὶ πάλιν αὐτῷ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀποκατ-
4 έστησεν. προσκατεσκεύαζον[1] δὲ καὶ ἄλλας[2] τριήρεις τετταράκοντα, ὥστε[3] τὰς πάσας[4] γίνεσθαι ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα· ἐποιοῦντο δὲ καὶ σίτου καὶ βελῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εἰς πόλεμον χρησίμων ἀξιολόγους παρασκευάς. κατὰ δὲ τὸ παρὸν στρατηγὸν ἑλόμενοι Κτησικλέα μετὰ στρατιωτῶν πεντακοσίων ἐξέπεμψαν βοηθήσοντα τοῖς Κορκυραίοις.
5 οὗτος δὲ λάθρᾳ νυκτὸς ἔλαθε τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας εἰσπλεύσας εἰς Κόρκυραν· καὶ καταλαβὼν τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει πρὸς μὲν ἀλλήλους στασιάζοντας, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον κακῶς διοικοῦντας, τὰς μὲν στάσεις διέλυσε, τῆς δὲ πόλεως πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιησάμενος εὐθαρσεῖς ἐποίησε τοὺς πολιορκου-

[1] προσκατεσκεύαζον Dindorf: προκατασκευάζων.
[2] τὰς before ἄλλας deleted by Dindorf.

a contingent on land which had seized a certain hill, and generally terrorized the Corcyraeans. The Athenians had some time previously dispatched Timotheüs, Conon's son, with sixty ships to aid Corcyra. He, however, before intervening in their favour, had sailed to the region of Thrace. Here he summoned many cities to join the alliance, and added thirty triremes to his fleet. At this point, because he was too late to assist Corcyra, he was at first deprived of his command as a result of his loss of popularity. Later, however, when he sailed along the Attic coast to Athens, bringing with him a great number of envoys from states which were ready to conclude an alliance with Athens, having added thirty triremes to his fleet and put the whole fleet in good trim for the war, the people repented and reinstated[1] him in his command. They furthermore equipped forty additional triremes, so that altogether he had one hundred thirty; they also provided liberal stores of food, engines of war, and other supplies needed for war. To meet the immediate emergency, they chose Ctesicles[2] general and sent him with five hundred soldiers to aid the Corcyraeans. He arrived there secretly by night and sailed into Corcyra undetected by the besiegers. Finding the inhabitants of the city at strife with one another and handling military matters badly, he composed the dissensions, devoted much attention to the city's business, and heartened 374/3 B.C.

[1] Timotheüs was not reinstated though he was acquitted in this *cause célèbre*. See Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 2. 13; Nepos, *Timotheüs*, 4; Demosthenes, 49. 9 f., 22.
[2] See chap. 46. 3 and Xenophon, *op. cit.* 2. 10.

[3] ὥστε Reiske: ὡς καί.
[4] ἄλλας before πάσας deleted by Reiske.

6 μένους. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπροσδοκήτως τοῖς πολιορκοῦσιν ἐπιθέμενος ἀνεῖλεν αὐτῶν περὶ διακοσίους, ὕστερον δὲ μεγάλης μάχης γενομένης τόν τε Μνάσιππον ἀνεῖλε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ὀλίγους· τέλος δὲ τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας εἰς πολιορκίαν συγ-
7 κλείσας μεγάλων ἐπαίνων ἔτυχεν. τοῦ δὲ περὶ τὴν Κόρκυραν πολέμου σχεδὸν ἤδη τέλος ἔχοντος κατέπλευσεν ὁ στόλος τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰς τὴν Κόρκυραν, ἔχων στρατηγοὺς Τιμόθεον καὶ Ἰφικράτην. οὗτοι δὲ τῶν καιρῶν ὑστερηκότες ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἔπραξαν μνήμης ἄξιον, τριήρεσι δὲ Σικελικαῖς περιτυχόντες, ἃς Διονύσιος ἦν ἀπεσταλκὼς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν, ὧν ἡγοῦντο Κισσίδης καὶ Κρίνιππος, αὐτάνδρους εἷλον, οὔσας ἐννέα· τοὺς δ᾽ ἁλόντας λαφυροπωλήσαντες, καὶ πλείω τῶν ἑξήκοντα ταλάντων ἀθροίσαντες, ἐμισθοδότησαν τὴν δύναμιν.

8 Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις κατὰ μὲν τὴν Κύπρον Νικοκλῆς ὁ εὐνοῦχος ἐδολοφόνησεν Εὐαγόραν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τῆς τῶν Σαλαμινίων βασιλείας ἐκυρίευσε, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς Πραινεστίνους παραταξάμενοι καὶ νικήσαντες τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἀντιταξαμένων κατέκοψαν.

48. Ἐπ᾽ ἄρχοντος δ᾽ Ἀθήνησιν Ἀστείου Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλιάρχους ἕξ, Μάρκον Φούριον καὶ Λεύκιον Φούριον, ἔτι δὲ Αὖλον Ποστόμιον καὶ Λεύκιον Λοκρήτιον καὶ Μάρκον Φάβιον καὶ Λεύκιον Ποστόμιον. ἐπὶ δὲ

[1] See Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 2. 16-26. The year is 372.

[2] Timotheüs is wrongly included. See *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 77.

[3] Perhaps the occasion mentioned in Book 16. 57. 3.

the besieged. At first in an unexpected attack on 374/3 B.C. the besiegers he slew about two hundred, and later in a great battle slew Mnasippus and not a few others. Finally he encircled and laid siege to the besiegers and won great approval.[1] The war to possess Corcyra was practically at an end when the Athenian fleet sailed in with the generals Timotheüs[2] and Iphicrates. These, having arrived too late for the critical moment, accomplished nothing worth mentioning except that, falling in with some Sicilian triremes[3] which Dionysius had dispatched under the command of Cissides and Crinippus to assist his allies the Lacedaemonians, they captured them with their crews, nine ships in all. By selling the captives as booty they collected more than sixty talents, with which they paid their forces.[4]

While these things were going on, in Cyprus Nicocles the eunuch[5] assassinated the king Evagoras and possessed himself of the royal power over the Salaminians; and in Italy the Romans, arrayed in battle against the Praenestini,[6] defeated them and slew almost all their opponents.

48. When Asteius was archon at Athens, the 373/2 B.C. Romans elected six military tribunes with consular power, Marcus Furius, Lucius Furius, Aulus Postumius, Lucius Lucretius, Marcus Fabius, and Lucius

Dionysius also sent presents for Delphi (cp. *IG*, 2[2]. 103. 9) which was burned (Dittenberger[3], 295) in 373.

[4] See also Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 2. 27-39 and Polyaenus, 3. 9. 55.

[5] Theopompus (fr. 111) says that Evagoras and his son Pnytagoras were murdered by a eunuch Thrasydaeus. Nicocles, the son and successor of Evagoras, probably had no hand in the murder. See also Aristotle, *Politics*, 5. 1311 b; Isocrates, *Ad Nicoclem* (*II*), *Nicocles* (*III*), and *Evagoras*, 72. Diodorus has abbreviated his source overmuch and made Nicocles the eunuch.

[6] See Livy, 6. 27. 9 ff.

τούτων κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐγένοντο σεισμοὶ
μεγάλοι καὶ κατακλυσμοὶ χώρας καὶ πόλεων ἄπι-
στοι· οὐδέποτε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω χρόνοις ἐγένοντο
πάθη τοιαῦτα περὶ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας, οὔτε τῶν
πόλεων αὐτάνδρων ἀφανισμός, θείας τινὸς ἐνερ-
γείας τὴν ἀπώλειαν καὶ φθορὰν τῶν ἀνθρώπων
2 μηχανησαμένης. ἐπέτεινε δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμ-
φορᾶς ὁ καιρός· οὐ γὰρ ἡμέρας συνέβη γενέσθαι
τὸν σεισμὸν ἐν ᾗ δυνατὸν ἦν τοὺς κινδυνεύοντας
βοηθεῖν ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλὰ νυκτὸς τοῦ πάθους συμ-
βάντος αἱ μὲν οἰκίαι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σεισμοῦ
καταρριπτούμεναι συνεχέοντο, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι διά
τε τὸ σκότος καὶ τὸ τῆς περιστάσεως ἀπροσδόκητον
καὶ παράδοξον ἀδυνάτως εἶχον ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι
3 τῆς σωτηρίας. οἱ μὲν οὖν πλείους ἐναπολημφθέντες
τοῖς πτώμασι τῶν οἰκιῶν ἠφανίσθησαν· ἐπιλα-
βούσης δ' ἡμέρας τινὲς ἐξεπήδων ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν,
καὶ δόξαντες ἐκπεφευγέναι τὸν κίνδυνον μείζονι
καὶ παραδοξοτέρᾳ συμφορᾷ περιέπεσον· τῆς γὰρ
θαλάσσης μετεωρισθείσης ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ κύματος
ὑψηλοῦ ἐξαιρομένου κατεκλύσθησαν ἅπαντες σὺν
ταῖς πατρίσιν ἀφανισθέντες. ἐγένετο δὲ τοῦτο τὸ
πάθος τῆς Ἀχαΐας περὶ δύο πόλεις, Ἑλίκην τε καὶ
Βοῦραν, ὧν τὴν Ἑλίκην[1] συνέβαινε μέγιστον τῶν
κατὰ τὴν Ἀχαΐαν πόλεων ἔχειν ἀξίωμα πρὸ τοῦ
4 σεισμοῦ. περὶ δὲ τῶν συμπτωμάτων μεγάλης
οὔσης ζητήσεως, οἱ μὲν φυσικοὶ πειρῶνται τὰς
αἰτίας τῶν τοιούτων παθῶν οὐκ εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀνα-

[1] *τε* after Ἑλίκην deleted by Dindorf.

[1] See Strabo, 1. 3. 18: "Then there are Bura and Helicê; Bura disappeared in a chasm of the earth, and Helicê was wiped out by a wave from the sea" (H. L. Jones, *L.C.L.*).

Postumius. During their term of office great earth- 378/2 B.C.
quakes occurred in the Peloponnese accompanied by tidal waves which engulfed the open country and cities in a manner past belief; for never in the earlier periods had such disasters befallen Greek cities, nor had entire cities along with their inhabitants disappeared as a result of some divine force wreaking destruction and ruin upon mankind. The extent of the destruction was increased by the time of its occurrence; for the earthquake did not come in the daytime when it would have been possible for the sufferers to help themselves, but the blow came at night, so that when the houses crashed and crumbled under the force of the shock, the population, owing to the darkness and to the surprise and bewilderment occasioned by the event, had no power to struggle for life. The majority were caught in the falling houses and annihilated, but as day returned some survivors dashed from the ruins and, when they thought they had escaped the danger, met with a greater and still more incredible disaster. For the sea rose to a vast height, and a wave towering even higher washed away and drowned all the inhabitants and their native lands as well. Two cities in Achaïa bore the brunt of this disaster, Helicê and Bura,[1] the former of which had, as it happened, before the earthquake held first place among the cities of Achaïa. These disasters have been the subject of much discussion. Natural scientists make it their endeavour to attribute responsibility in such cases not to divine providence, but

These cities are in Achaïa, Helicê east of Aegium on the Corinthian Gulf and Bura inland. It is strange that no mention occurs of Delphi if the same earthquake caused the fire of 373 (*Marm. Par.* 71; Dittenberger[3], 295; Hommolle, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 20 (1896), 677 ff.).

φέρειν, ἀλλ' εἰς φυσικάς τινας καὶ κατηναγκασμένας περιστάσεις, οἱ δ' εὐσεβῶς διακείμενοι πρὸς τὸ θεῖον πιθανάς τινας αἰτίας ἀποδιδοῦσι τοῦ συμβάντος, ὡς διὰ θεῶν μῆνιν γεγενημένης τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῖς εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀσεβήσασι· περὶ ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀκριβῶς ἀναγράψαι πειρασόμεθα τῇ κατὰ μέρος ἱστορίᾳ.

49. Κατὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἐννέα πόλεις εἰώθεισαν κοινὴν ποιεῖσθαι σύνοδον τὴν τῶν Πανιωνίων, καὶ θυσίας συνθύειν ἀρχαίας καὶ μεγάλας Ποσειδῶνι περὶ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Μυκάλην ἐν ἐρήμῳ τόπῳ. ὕστερον δὲ πολέμων γενομένων περὶ τούτους τοὺς τόπους οὐ δυνάμενοι ποιεῖν τὰ Πανιώνια, μετέθεσαν τὴν πανήγυριν εἰς ἀσφαλῆ τόπον, ὃς ἦν πλησίον τῆς Ἐφέσου. πέμψαντες δὲ θεωροὺς Πυθώδε, χρησμοὺς ἔλαβον ἀφιδρύματα λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ προγονικῶν αὐτοῖς βωμῶν ἐξ Ἑλίκης τῆς[1] ἐν τῷ τότε μὲν Ἰωνίας, νῦν δὲ
2 Ἀχαΐας καλουμένης. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἴωνες κατὰ τὸν χρησμὸν ἔπεμψαν εἰς Ἀχαΐαν τοὺς ληψομένους τὰ ἀφιδρύματα· οὗτοι δὲ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν διαλεχθέντες ἔπεισαν διδόναι τὰ ἀξιούμενα. οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἑλίκην οἰκοῦντες, ἔχοντες παλαιὸν λόγιον ὅτι τότε κινδυνεύσουσιν ὅταν Ἴωνες ἐπὶ τοῦ βώμου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος θύσωσιν, ἀναλογιζόμενοι τὸν χρησμὸν ἀντέλεγον τοῖς Ἴωσι περὶ τῶν ἀφιδρυμάτων,

[1] τῆς ἐν τῷ τότε μὲν Ἰωνίας, νῦν δὲ Ἀχαΐας καλουμένης] τῆς ἐν τῇ τότε μὲν Ἰωνίᾳ, νῦν δὲ Ἀχαΐᾳ καλουμένῃ Madvig, Vogel.

[1] See on this subject Book 16. 61-64.

[2] Herodotus (1. 145) has twelve Ionian cities and makes the connection between Achaïa and Ionia. Helicê and Bura are specially mentioned there as two places of refuge of the

378/2 B.C.

to certain natural circumstances determined by necessary causes, whereas those who are disposed to venerate the divine power assign certain plausible reasons for the occurrence, alleging that the disaster was occasioned by the anger of the gods at those who had committed sacrilege. This question I too shall endeavour to deal with in detail in a special chapter of my history.[1]

49. In Ionia nine cities[2] were in the habit of holding a common assemblage of all the Ionians and of offering sacrifices of great antiquity on a large scale to Poseidon in an open region near the place called Mycalê. Later, however, as a result of the outbreak of wars in this neighbourhood, since they were unable to hold the Panionia there, they shifted the festival gathering to a safe place near Ephesus. Having sent an embassy to Delphi, they received an oracle telling them to take copies of the ancient ancestral altars at Helicê, which was situated in what was then known as Ionia,[3] but is known now as Achaïa. So the Ionians in obedience to the oracle sent men to Achaïa to make the copies, and they spoke before the council of the Achaeans and persuaded them to give them what they asked. The inhabitants of Helicê, however, who had an ancient saying that they would suffer danger when Ionians should sacrifice at the altar of Poseidon, taking account of the oracle, opposed the Ionians in the matter of the copies, saying that the sanctuary was

Ionians from the Achaeans. Cp. Strabo, 14. 1. 20 for the festival celebrated near Mycalê.

[3] See chap. 48. 3 for earthquake and tidal wave. On the connection of Helicê and Bura with the Ionians see Strabo, 8. 7. 2 and 4: "after Bura, Helicê, whither the Ionians fled for refuge after they were conquered in battle by the Achaeans, and whence at last they were expelled" (*L.C.L. l.c.*).

λέγοντες μὴ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλ' ἴδιον αὐτῶν[1] εἶναι τὸ τέμενος· συνέπραττον δὲ τούτοις καὶ οἱ τὴν
3 Βοῦραν οἰκοῦντες. τῶν δὲ Ἀχαιῶν κοινῷ δόγματι συγχωρησάντων, οἱ μὲν Ἴωνες ἔθυσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος κατὰ τὸν χρησμόν, οἱ δ' Ἑλικεῖς τὰ χρήματα[2] διαρρίψαντες τῶν Ἰώνων τούς τε θεωροὺς συνήρπασαν, ἠσέβησάν τε εἰς τὸ θεῖον. ἀνθ' ὧν φασι μηνίσαντα τὸν Ποσειδῶνα διὰ τοῦ σεισμοῦ καὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ τὰς ἀσε-
4 βούσας πόλεις λυμήνασθαι. τοῦ δ' ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος γεγονέναι τὴν μῆνιν ταῖς πόλεσί φασιν ἐμφανεῖς ἀποδείξεις ὑπάρχειν διὰ τὸ τῶν σεισμῶν καὶ τῶν κατακλυσμῶν τοῦτον τὸν θεὸν ἔχειν διειλῆφθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τὸ παλαιὸν τὴν Πελοπόννησον οἰκητήριον γεγονέναι Ποσειδῶνος, καὶ τὴν χώραν ταύτην ὥσπερ ἱερὰν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος νομίζεσθαι, καὶ τὸ σύνολον πάσας τὰς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεις μάλιστα τῶν ἀθανάτων τὸν θεὸν
5 τιμᾶν τοῦτον. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὴν Πελοπόννησον κατὰ βάθους ἔχειν μεγάλα κοιλώματα καὶ συστάσεις ὑδάτων ναματιαίων μεγάλας. εἶναι γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ δύο ποταμοὺς φανεροὺς ῥέοντας ὑπὸ γῆν· ὅ τε γὰρ περὶ Φένεον ποταμὸς εἰς τὴν γῆν καταδυόμενος ἐν τοῖς προτέροις χρόνοις ἠφανίζετο, τῶν κατὰ γῆς ἄντρων αὐτὸν ὑποδεχομένων, ὅ τε περὶ

[1] αὐτῶν Vogel: αὑτῶν.
[2] χρήματα Vogel (cp. chap. 82. 1)] θύματα Dindorf, Bekker.

not the common property of the Achaeans, but 873/2 B.C.
their own particular possession. The inhabitants of Bura also took part with them in this. But since the Achaeans by common decree had concurred, the Ionians sacrificed at the altar of Poseidon as the oracle directed, but the people of Helicê scattered the sacred possessions of the Ionians and seized the persons of their representatives,[1] thus committing sacrilege. It was because of these acts, they say, that Poseidon in his anger brought ruin upon the offending cities through the earthquake and the flood. That it was Poseidon's wrath that was wreaked upon these cities they allege that clear proofs are at hand: first, it is distinctly conceived that authority over earthquakes and floods belongs to this god,[2] and also it is the ancient belief that the Peloponnese was an habitation of Poseidon; and this country is regarded as sacred in a way to Poseidon, and, speaking generally, all the cities in the Peloponnese pay honour to this god more than to any other of the immortals. Furthermore, the Peloponnese has beneath its surface huge caverns and great underground accumulations of flowing water. Indeed there are two rivers in it which clearly have underground courses; one of them, in fact, near Pheneüs, plunges into the ground, and in former times completely disappeared, swallowed up by underground caves, and the other, near Stym-

[1] See particularly Pausanias, 7. 24. 3-7. Frazer (4. 165) gives other references for this story. (For Bura, *ibid.* 168.)
[2] When the generation to which Zeus belonged overthrew the older gods the universe was apportioned to Zeus, sky and dry land, to Poseidon, the water, to Dis, the underworld. With his trident Poseidon controlled the waters and by smiting the earth with it produced earthquakes ("Poseidon the earth-shaker").

Στύμφηλον[1] εἴς τι[2] χάσμα καταδυόμενος ἐπὶ διακοσίους σταδίους φέρεται κεκρυμμένος κατὰ γῆς
6 καὶ παρὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων πόλιν ἐξίησιν. πρὸς δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις λέγουσιν, ὅτι πλὴν τῶν ἀσεβησάντων οὐδεὶς ἄλλος περιέπεσε τῇ συμφορᾷ. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν γενομένων σεισμῶν καὶ κατακλυσμῶν ἀρκεσθησόμεθα τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν.

50. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Ἀλκισθένους Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλιάρχους κατέστησαν ὀκτώ, Λεύκιον Οὐαλέριον καὶ Πόπλιον,[3] ἔτι δὲ Γάιον Τερέντιον καὶ Λεύκιον Μενήνιον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Γάιον Σολπίκιον καὶ Τίτον Παπίριον καὶ Λεύκιον Αἰμίλιον,[4] παρὰ δὲ Ἠλείοις ὀλυμπιὰς ἤχθη δευτέρα πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα
2 στάδιον Δάμων Θούριος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων, Λακεδαιμονίων ἔτη σχεδὸν πεντακόσια τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐχόντων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὸ θεῖον προεσήμαινεν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς τὴν ἀποβολήν· ὤφθη μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐπὶ πολλὰς νύκτας λαμπὰς μεγάλη καομένη, ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος ὀνομασθεῖσα πυρίνη δοκίς· μικρὸν δ' ὕστερον ἡττηθέντες οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται παραδόξως μεγάλῃ μάχῃ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπέβαλον

[1] Στύμφηλον Vogel : *τὸ στύμφην* Pa, *τὸ στύμφιον cet.*
[2] *τι* Dindorf : *τὸ.*
[3] Πόπλιον PA (cp. Livy, 6. 27. 2), Πόπλιον Ἄγκον *cet.*
[4] Αἰμίλιον PA, Αἰμίλιον καὶ Φάβιον Μάκρον *cet.*

[1] The first is the river Ladon, a tributary of the Alpheüs, flowing past Pheneüs, and the second is the Stymphalus. In Frazer's *Pausanias* (8. 20, 22) on pp. 262 and 268 (vol. 4) are found descriptions of these rivers. See also Strabo, 8. 8. 4. Both towns were in Arcadia, the first being represented by Virgil (*Aeneïd*, 8. 165) as the home of Evander.

[2] One might ask about the guilt of the crews of the ten Spartan ships which chanced to be anchored off Helicê and

phalus,[1] plunges into a chasm and flows for two hundred stades concealed underground, then pours forth by the city of the Argives. In addition to these statements the pious say further that except for those who committed the sacrilege no one perished in the disaster.[2] Concerning the earthquakes and floods which occurred we shall rest content with what has been said. 373/2 B.C.

50. When Alcisthenes was archon at Athens, the Romans elected eight military tribunes with consular power, Lucius and Publius Valerius, Gaius Terentius, Lucius Menenius, Gaius Sulpicius, Titus Papirius, and Lucius Aemilius, and the Eleians celebrated the hundred second Olympiad in which Damon of Thurii won the stadium race. During their term of office, after the Lacedaemonians had held the supremacy in Greece for almost five hundred years, a divine portent foretold the loss of their empire ; for there was seen in the heavens during the course of many nights a great blazing torch which was named from its shape a "flaming beam," [3] and a little later, to the surprise of all, the Spartans were defeated in a great battle 372/1 B.C.

were destroyed by the tidal wave (cp. Aelian, *De Nat. Animal.* 11. 19 and Wesseling's note on this passage of Diodorus). For the fate of similar arguments see Voltaire, *Candide* 5.

[3] Seneca, *Q.N.* 7. 5 : "talem effigiem ignis longi fuisse Callisthenes tradit, antequam Burin et Helicen mare absconderet. Aristoteles ait non trabem illam sed cometen fuisse." Translation by John Clarke : "Callisthenes puts it on record that a similar appearance of a trail of fire was observed before the sea swallowed up Buris and Helice. Aristotle says it was not a 'beam,' but a comet." On the basis of this passage of Diodorus and the passage of Seneca it would seem that ὁδός in Aristotle, *Meteor.* 1. 6, 343 b 23 (διὸ καὶ ἐκλήθη ὁδός, ed. by F. H. Fobes) should read δοκός (see Wesseling's note). Aristotle dates the occurrence in 373/2 (*ibid.* b 19).

3 *ἀνελπίστως. ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν φυσικῶν τὴν γένεσιν τῆς λαμπάδος εἰς φυσικὰς αἰτίας ἀνέφερον, ἀποφαινόμενοι τὰ τοιαῦτα φαντάσματα κατηναγκασμένως γίνεσθαι χρόνοις ὡρισμένοις, καὶ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων τούς τε ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Χαλδαίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστρολόγους ποιουμένους προρρήσεις ἐναργεῖς ἐπιτυγχάνειν· τοὺς δὲ μὴ θαυμάζειν ὅταν γένηταί τι τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὴ γένηται, κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας ἑκάστων περιόδους αἰωνίοις κινήσεσι καὶ φοραῖς ὡρισμέναις συντελουμένων.*[1] *τὴν δ' οὖν λαμπάδα τοσαύτην ἐσχηκέναι λαμπρότητα καὶ δύναμιν τοῦ φωτός, ὥστ' ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς σκιὰς ποιεῖν παραπλησίας τῇ σελήνῃ.*

4 *Κατὰ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁρῶν πάλιν ταραττομένην τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλε, παρακαλῶν συλλύσασθαι τοὺς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους καὶ συνθέσθαι κοινὴν εἰρήνην κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας, ἃς πρότερον ἦσαν πεποιημένοι. τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων πάντων ἀσμένως προσδεξαμένων τοὺς λόγους, συνέθεντο κοινὴν εἰρήνην αἱ πόλεις πᾶσαι πλὴν Θηβαίων· Θηβαῖοι γὰρ μόνοι, τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὑπὸ μίαν ἄγοντες συντέλειαν, οὐ προσεδέχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ τὸ πᾶσιν ἀρέ-*

[1] *συντελουμένων* Vogel, *ἁπάντων συν.* Rhodoman, *τούτων συν.* Wurm, *συντελουμένας* Reiske : *τῶν συντελουμένων.*

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[1] For the participation of the King see Dionysius Hal. *De Lysia Iudicium*, 12 ; Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 3. 12, 5. 1 f.

[2] See chap. 38, which in many details is an anticipation of this chapter.

[3] See Xenophon, *op. cit.* 6. 3. 1-19 and for date Plutarch, *Agesilaüs*, 28.

and irretrievably lost their supremacy. Some of the students of nature ascribed the origin of the torch to natural causes, voicing the opinion that such apparitions occur of necessity at appointed times, and that in these matters the Chaldeans in Babylon and the other astrologers succeed in making accurate prophecies. These men, they say, are not surprised when such a phenomenon occurs, but rather if it does not, since each particular constellation has its own peculiar cycle and they complete these cycles through age-long movements in appointed courses. At any rate this torch had such brilliancy, they report, and its light such strength that it cast shadows on the earth similar to those cast by the moon. 372/1 B.C.

At this time Artaxerxes the Persian King, seeing that the Greek world was again in a turmoil, sent ambassadors,[1] calling upon the Greeks to settle their internecine wars and establish a common peace in accordance with the covenants[2] they had formerly made. All the Greeks gladly received his proposal, and all the cities agreed to a general peace except Thebes[3]; for the Thebans alone, being engaged in bringing Boeotia under a single confederacy,[4] were not admitted by the Greeks because of the general determina-

[4] The Boeotian League such as it had been before the Peace of Antalcidas (for its constitution see *Oxyr. Pap.* 842 [vol. v], xi. 38–xii. 31) was set up anew, only much more strongly centralized and on a democratic basis. The executive was the college of boeotarchs no longer representative of separate states but elected from all Boeotian citizens and reduced in number from eleven to seven (chap. 52). The deciding power lay with the assembly of the Boeotian folk which met at Thebes but in which every citizen of a Boeotian state had a voice (cp. Book 16. 25. 1). Unlike Attica, each city had autonomy and the League army was composed of contingents from the separate states.

σκειν κατὰ πόλιν γίνεσθαι τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς σπονδάς. διόπερ ἔκσπονδοι γενηθέντες ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, συνεῖχον τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐν τῇ καθ' 5 αὑτοὺς μιᾷ συντελείᾳ. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παροξυνθέντες ἔγνωσαν μεγάλῃ δυνάμει στρατεύειν ἐπ' αὐτούς, ὡς κοινοὺς πολεμίους· σφόδρα γὰρ ὑφεωρῶντο τὴν αὔξησιν αὐτῶν, μήποτε τῆς ὅλης Βοιωτίας ἡγούμενοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Σπάρτης καταλύσωσιν, ἐπιλαβόμενοι καιροῦ. ἔν τε γὰρ τοῖς γυμνασίοις συνεχῶς διατρίβοντες εὔρωστοι τοῖς σώμασιν ὑπῆρχον, καὶ φύσει φιλοπόλεμοι καθεστῶτες οὐδενὸς ἔθνους Ἑλληνικοῦ 6 ταῖς ἀνδρείαις ἐλείποντο. εἶχον δὲ καὶ ἡγεμόνας ἐπιφανεῖς ταῖς ἀρεταῖς πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ ἄλλους, μεγίστους δὲ τρεῖς, Ἐπαμεινώνδαν καὶ Γοργίδαν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Πελοπίδαν· ἥ τε πόλις τῶν Θηβαίων διὰ τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἐπιφανείας ἐν τοῖς ἡρωικοῖς χρόνοις φρονήματος ἦν πλήρης καὶ μεγάλων ὠρέγετο πραγμάτων. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ δυνάμεις κατέλεγον τὰς μὲν πολιτικάς, τὰς δὲ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων.

51. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Φρασικλείδου Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλιάρχους ὀκτώ, Πόπλιον Μάνιον[1] καὶ Γάιον, Ἐρενούκιον καὶ Γάιον Σέξστον[1] καὶ Τιβέριον Ἰούλιον, ἔτι δὲ Λεύκιον Λαβίνιον[1] καὶ Πόπλιον Τριβώνιον καὶ Γάιον Μάλλιον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Λεύκιον Ἀνθέστιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι ἔκσπονδοι γεγονότες

tion to have the oaths and treaties made city by city.[1] 372/1 B.C. So, remaining outside of the treaties as formerly, the Thebans continued to hold Boeotia in a single confederacy subject to themselves. The Lacedaemonians, being exasperated by this, decided to lead a large army against them as common enemies, for they cast an extremely jealous eye upon their increase of power, fearing lest with the leadership of all Boeotia they might break up the Spartan supremacy, given a suitable opportunity. For they constantly practised gymnastics and had great bodily strength, and since they were naturally lovers of war, they were inferior to no Greek nation in deeds of valour. They had besides leaders conspicuous for their virtues, greatest among them being three men, Epameinondas, Gorgidas, and Pelopidas.[2] The city of the Thebans was full of pride because of the glory of its ancestors in the heroic age and aspired to mighty deeds. In this year, then, the Lacedaemonians were making ready for war, levying armies both of their own citizens and from their allies as well.

51. When Phrasicleides was archon at Athens, the 371/0 B.C. Romans elected eight military tribunes with consular power, Publius and Gaius Manius, Erenucius, Gaius Sextus, Tiberius Julius, Lucius Lavinius, Publius Tribonius, and Gaius Manlius, and besides Lucius Anthestius. During their term of office the Thebans, since they were not participants in the truce, were

[1] See Xenophon, *op. cit.* 6. 3. 19-20; Plutarch, *Agesilaüs*, 28; Nepos, *Epameinondas*, 6. 4; Pausanias, 9. 13. 2.

[2] See chap. 39.

[1] The correct forms of three of these names are given by Livy (6. 30. 2): *Manilius*, *Sextilius*, and *Albinius*: Μάνιον, Σέξστον, Λαβίνιον.

ἠναγκάσθησαν ἀναδέξασθαι μόνοι τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πόλεμον· οὐδεμιᾷ γὰρ ἐξῆν πόλει συμμαχῆσαι διὰ τὸ πάσας συντεθεῖσθαι[1] τὴν κοινὴν
2 εἰρήνην. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, μονωθέντων τῶν Θηβαίων, ἔκριναν πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς Θήβας ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι. φανερᾶς δὲ οὔσης τῆς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων παρασκευῆς, καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων ἐρήμων ὄντων συμμάχων, ἅπαντες ὑπελάμβανον αὐτοὺς ῥᾳδίως ὑπὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν καταπολεμη-
3 θήσεσθαι.[2] διόπερ οἱ μὲν εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντες[3] τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους συνήλγουν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς προσδοκωμέναις συμφοραῖς, οἱ δ' ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντες περιχαρεῖς ἦσαν, ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα τῶν Θηβαίων ἐξανδραποδισθησομένων. τέλος δ' οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολλὴν δύναμιν παρασκευασάμενοι παρέδωκαν αὐτὴν Κλεομβρότῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν προαπέστειλαν πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας, προστάττοντες ἁπάσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ πόλεις ἐᾶν αὐτονόμους, Πλαταιὰς δὲ καὶ Θεσπιὰς οἰκίζειν καὶ τὴν χώραν τοῖς πρότερον γεγονόσι κυρίοις
4 ἀποκαταστῆσαι. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων, ὡς οὔτ' αὐτοὶ πολυπραγμονοῦσιν οὐδὲν[4] τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λακωνικὴν οὔτ'[5] ἐκείνοις ἅπτεσθαι προσήκει[6] τῶν[7] τῆς Βοιωτίας· γενομένων δὲ τοιούτων τῶν ἀποκρίσεων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν Κλεόμβροτον εὐθὺς ἐξέπεμψαν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας· οἱ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων σύμμαχοι προθύμως εἶχον εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐλπίζοντες μήτ' ἀγῶνα

[1] συντεθεῖσθαι Reiske: συντίθεσθαι.
[2] Suggested by Vogel, ἂν after ῥᾳδίως Hertlein and Madvig: καταπολεμηθῆναι.
[3] οἱ μὲν εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντες Dindorf, Vogel: εὐνοϊκῶς ἐχόντων.
[4] οὐδὲν added by Vogel, τι by Dindorf.
[5] οὔτ' PAFJKL, οὕτως οὔτ' *cet.*
[6] προσήκει] προσήκειν PAFHJK.
[7] τῶν added by Capps.

forced to undertake alone the war with the Lacedaemonians; for there was no city that could legally join them, because all had agreed to the general peace. The Lacedaemonians, since the Thebans were isolated, determined to fight them and reduce Thebes to complete slavery. And since the Lacedaemonians were making their preparations without concealment and the Thebans were destitute of allies, everyone assumed that they would easily be defeated by the Spartans. Accordingly some of the Greeks who were friendly to the Thebans sympathized with them at the prospect of defeat, while others who were at odds with them were overjoyed at the thought that Thebes would in a trice be reduced to utter slavery. Finally the Lacedaemonians, their huge army ready, gave command of it to Cleombrotus their king,[1] and first of all sent envoys ahead to Thebes, directing the Thebans to permit all of the Boeotian cities to be independent, to people Plataeae and Thespiae,[2] and to restore the land to its former owners. When the Thebans replied that they never meddled with affairs in Laconia and the Spartans had no right to touch those of Boeotia, such being the tenor of their answers, the Lacedaemonians sent Cleombrotus forth immediately with his army against Thebes; and the Spartan allies were eager for the war, confident that there would be no contest or 371/0 B.C.

[1] Cleombrotus was already in Phocis (Cary, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 80). He was sent there in 375/4 (Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 1. 1, 2. 1, 4. 2). Beloch (3². 2. 236-237) thinks he was sent out afresh in 371.
[2] See chap. 46. 6.

μήτε μάχην ἔσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀκονιτὶ τῶν Βοιωτῶν
κρατήσειν.

52. Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν προάγοντες ὡς ἧκον εἰς Κορώ-
νειαν,[1] κατεστρατοπέδευσαν καὶ τοὺς καθυστε-
ροῦντας τῶν συμμάχων ἀνέμενον. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι
διὰ τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν πολεμίων ἐψηφίσαντο τέκνα
μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς Ἀθήνας ὑπεκθέσθαι, αὐτοὶ δ'
Ἐπαμεινώνδαν στρατηγὸν ἑλόμενοι τούτῳ τὰ κατὰ
τὸν πόλεμον ἐπέτρεψαν, συμπαρόντων αὐτῷ βοιω-
2 ταρχῶν ἕξ. ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας πανδημεὶ τοὺς
Θηβαίους τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ στρατιᾶς ὄντας καταλέξας
εἰς τὴν μάχην καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Βοιωτῶν τοὺς εὐ-
θέτους, προῆγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν, ἔχων
τοὺς σύμπαντας οὐ πλείους τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων.
3 κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἔξοδον τῶν στρατιωτῶν
πολλοῖς ἔδοξε δυσχερῆ σημεῖα φανῆναι τῷ στρατο-
πέδῳ. περὶ γὰρ τὰς πύλας ἀπήντησε τοῖς περὶ
τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν κῆρυξ τυφλός, ὃς[2] ἀνδράποδ'[3]
ἀποδεδρακότα ἀνακομίζων,[4] καὶ καθάπερ ἦν εἰθισ-
μένον ἀνηγόρευε κηρύττων μήτ' ἐξάγειν Θήβηθεν
μήτ' ἀφανίζειν, ἀλλ' ἀπάγοντα πάλιν ἀνασώζειν.
4 οἱ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτεροι τῶν ἀκουόντων τοῦ κήρυκος
οἰωνὸν ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ μέλλοντος, οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι
ἡσυχίαν εἶχον, ἵνα μὴ δόξωσι διὰ δειλίαν ἀπο-
τρέπειν[5] τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν τῆς στρατείας. ὁ δ'

[1] Κορώνειαν Wesseling: χαιρώνειαν (χερώνειαν PA).
[2] τυφλός, ὃς Vogel, τυφλός Madvig: τυφλόν.
[3] So Vogel, ἀνδράποδα Madvig: ἄνδρα.
[4] ἀνακομίζων Post: κομίζων. Vogel, following PA, deletes κομίζων καί. (On the whole passage see Vogel, *Praefatio*, xiii.)
[5] ἀποτρέπειν Wesseling: ἀνατρέπειν.

battle but that they would master the Boeotians without a struggle. 371/0 B.C.

52. The Spartans accordingly advanced till they came to Coroneia, where they encamped and waited for such of their allies as were tardy. The Thebans, in view of the presence of the enemy, first voted to remove their wives and children to safety in Athens, then chose Epameinondas general and turned over to him the command in the war, giving him as his advisers six boeotarchs. Epameinondas, having conscripted for the battle all Thebans of military age and the other Boeotians who were willing and qualified, led forth from Thebes his army, numbering in all not more than six thousand. As the soldiers were marching out from the city it seemed to many that unfavourable omens appeared to the armament. For by the gates Epameinondas was met by a blind herald, who, seeking recovery of runaway slaves, just as was usual,[1] cried his warning not to take them from Thebes nor to spirit them away, but to bring them home and keep them secure. Now the older people amongst those who heard the herald considered it an omen for the future; but the younger folk kept quiet so as not to appear through cowardice to hold Epameinondas back from the expedition. But

[1] The Thebans had recently been slaves to Sparta, so the proclamation portended their destruction if they were led forth from the city. This translation is based on the assumption that the crier was reporting names and descriptions of slaves who had run away and whom the owners sought to recover, coupled with the warning not to export or conceal them but to arrest them and keep them safe for the owner.

Ἐπαμεινώνδας πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας προσέχειν δεῖν[1] τοῖς οἰωνοῖς εἶπεν

εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

5 ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ παρρησίᾳ καταπληξαμένου τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδου τοὺς εὐλαβῶς ἔχοντας, ἕτερος οἰωνὸς ἐφάνη δυσχερέστερος τοῦ προτέρου. ὁ γὰρ γραμματεὺς προῆγεν ἔχων δόρυ καὶ ταινίαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ προεσήμαινε τὸ παραγγελλόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων· πνεύματος δὲ γενομένου συνέβη τὴν ταινίαν ἀποσπασθεῖσαν περιαμπίσχεσθαι περί[2] τινα στήλην ἐφεστῶσαν τάφῳ· ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ τεθαμμένοι τινὲς Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι, οἳ μετ' Ἀγησιλάου στρατεύσαντες
6 ἐτελεύτησαν. τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων τινὲς πάλιν ἐντυχόντες διεμαρτύραντο μὴ προάγειν τὴν δύναμιν, φανερῶς τῶν θεῶν κωλυόντων, ὁ δ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀποκριθεὶς προῆγε τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἡγούμενος τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν καλῶν λογισμὸν καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων μνήμην αἱρετωτέραν εἶναι τῶν παρόν-
7 των σημείων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἐπαμεινώνδας πεφιλοσοφηκὼς καὶ τοῖς ἐν παιδείᾳ λογισμοῖς ἐμφρόνως χρησάμενος παραυτίκα μὲν ὑπὸ πολλῶν μέμψεως ἔτυχεν, ὕστερον δὲ διὰ τῶν κατορθωμάτων δόξας στρατηγικῇ συνέσει διαφέρειν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος ἐγένετο τῇ πατρίδι. εὐθὺς γὰρ προαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ προκαταλαβόμενος τὰ περὶ τὴν Κορώνειαν στενά, κατεστρατοπέδευσεν.

Epameinondas replied to those who told him that he must observe the omens : 371/0 B.C.

> " One only omen is best, to fight for the land that is ours."[1]

Though Epameinondas astounded the cautious by his forthright answer, a second omen appeared more unfavourable than the previous one. For as the clerk advanced with a spear and a ribbon attached to it and signalled the orders from headquarters, a breeze came up and, as it happened, the ribbon was torn from the spear and wrapped itself around a slab that stood over a grave, and there were buried in this spot some Lacedaemonians and Peloponnesians who had died in the expedition under Agesilaüs. Some of the older folk who again chanced to be there protested earnestly against leading the force out in the face of the patent opposition of the gods ; but Epameinondas, deigning them no reply, led forth his army, thinking that considerations of nobility and regard for justice should be preferred as motives to the omens in question. Epameinondas accordingly, who was trained in philosophy and applied sensibly the principles of his training, was at the moment widely criticized, but later in the light of his successes was considered to have excelled in military shrewdness and did contribute the greatest benefits to his country. For he immediately led forth his army, seized in advance the pass at Coroneia, and encamped there.

[1] Homer, *Iliad*, 12. 243.

[1] δεῖν Wesseling : δεῖ.
[2] ἀποσπασθεῖσαν Wurm, περιαμπίσχεσθαι περί Capps : ἀποσπασθῆναι περί.

53. Ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος πυθόμενος τοὺς πολεμίους προκατειληφέναι τὰς παρόδους, τὸ μὲν ταύτῃ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν διέξοδον ἀπέγνω, πορευθεὶς δὲ διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος, καὶ διεξελθὼν τὴν παραθαλαττίαν ὁδὸν χαλεπὴν οὖσαν, ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀκινδύνως· ἐν παρόδῳ δέ τινα τῶν πολισματίων χειρωσάμενος δέκα[1] τριήρων ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο.
2 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καταντήσας εἰς τὰ καλούμενα Λεῦκτρα κατεστρατοπέδευσε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἀνελάμβανεν. οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ προάγοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς ἤγγισαν αὐτοῖς καὶ λόφους τινὰς ὑπερβαλόντες ἄφνω κατενόησαν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπέχοντας ἅπαν τὸ Λευκτρικὸν πεδίον, κατεπλάγησαν ἰδόντες τὸ μέγεθος
3 τῆς δυνάμεως. συνεδρευσάντων δὲ τῶν βοιωταρχῶν καὶ βουλευομένων, πότερον χρὴ μένειν καὶ πρὸς πολλαπλασίονα δύναμιν διαγωνίζεσθαι ἢ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ποιησάμενοι ἐν τόποις ὑπερδεξίοις[2] συστήσονται τὴν μάχην, ἔτυχον αἱ γνῶμαι τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἴσαι γενόμεναι. ἓξ γὰρ ὄντων βοιωταρχῶν τρεῖς μὲν ᾤοντο δεῖν ἀπάγειν τὴν δύναμιν, τρεῖς δὲ μένειν καὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας συνεξαριθμούμενος. ἀπορίας δ' οὔσης μεγάλης καὶ δυσκρίτου τῶν βοιωταρχῶν ὁ ἕβδομος ἧκεν, ὃν πείσας Ἐπαμεινώνδας ὁμόψηφον[3] ἑαυτῷ γενέσθαι προετέρησε τῆς γνώμης. ὁ μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ
4 τῶν ὅλων ἀγὼν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐκυρώθη. ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας ὁρῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας δεισιδαιμονοῦντας ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσι σημείοις, ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἐπινοίας καὶ στρατηγίας μεταθεῖναι

[1] δέκα Vogel (cp. chap. 78. 4), δώδεκα Wurm (cp. Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 4. 3): τε καὶ PA, καὶ *cet.*

53. Cleombrotus, learning that the enemy had seized the pass first, decided against forcing a passage there, proceeded instead through Phocis, and, when he had traversed the shore road which was difficult, entered Boeotia without danger. In his passage he took some of the fortresses and seized ten triremes.[1] Later, when he reached the place called Leuctra, he encamped there and allowed the soldiers to recover after their march. As the Boeotians neared the enemy in their advance, and then, after surmounting some ridges, suddenly caught sight of the Lacedaemonians covering the entire plain of Leuctra, they were astounded at beholding the great size of the army. And when the boeotarchs held a conference[2] to decide whether they ought to remain and fight it out with an army that many times outnumbered them, or whether they should retreat and join battle in a commanding position, it chanced that the votes of the leaders were equal. For of the six boeotarchs, three thought that they should withdraw the army, and three that they should stay and fight it out, and among the latter Epameinondas was numbered. In this great and perplexing deadlock, the seventh boeotarch came to vote, whom Epameinondas persuaded to vote with him, and thus he carried the day. So the decision to stake all on the issue of battle was thus ratified. But Epameinondas, who saw that the soldiers were superstitious on account of the omens that had occurred, earnestly desired through his own ingenuity and strategy to reverse the scruples of the 371/0 B.C.

[1] See Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 4. 3-4.
[2] See Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 20.

[2] ὑπερδεξίοις Reiske: δεξιοῖς.
[3] ὁμόψηφον Rhodoman: ὁμόψυχον.

τὰς τοῦ πλήθους εὐλαβείας. διόπερ τινῶν προσφάτως παραγεγονότων ἐκ Θηβῶν ἔπεισεν εἰπεῖν ὅτι τὰ κατὰ τὸν νεὼν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ὅπλα παραδόξως ἀφανῆ γέγονε καὶ λόγος ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις διαδέδοται ὡς τῶν ἡρώων τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀνειληφότων αὐτὰ καὶ βοηθεῖν τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς ἀπεληλυθότων. ἄλλον δὲ κατέστησεν ὡς ἀπὸ Τροφωνίου προσφάτως ἀναβεβηκότα καὶ λέγοντα διότι προστέταχεν ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς, ὅταν ἐν Λεύκτροις νικήσωσιν, ἀγῶνα τιθέναι Διὶ βασιλεῖ στεφανίτην· ἀφ' οὗ δὴ Βοιωτοὶ ταύτην ποιοῦσι τὴν πανήγυριν ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ.

54. Συνήργησε δὲ πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἐπίνοιαν Λεανδρίας[1] ὁ Σπαρτιάτης, πεφευγὼς μὲν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, τότε δὲ συστρατεύων Θηβαίοις. οὗτος γὰρ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ προαχθεὶς ἀπεφήνατο[2] παλαιὸν εἶναι λόγιον τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις, ὅτι τότε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀποβαλοῦσιν, ὅταν ἐν Λεύκτροις ὑπὸ Θηβαίων
2 ἡττηθῶσιν. προσῆλθον δὲ τῷ Ἐπαμεινώνδᾳ καὶ χρησμολόγοι τινὲς ἐγχώριοι, λέγοντες ὅτι περὶ τὸν τάφον τῶν Λεύκτρου καὶ Σκεδάσου θυγατέρων μεγάλῃ συμφορᾷ δεῖ περιπεσεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους
3 διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. Λεῦκτρος ἦν, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ πεδίον τοῦτο ἔσχε τὴν προσηγορίαν. τούτου θυγατέρας καὶ Σκεδάσου τινὸς ὁμοίως κόρας πρέσβεις Λακεδαιμονίων ἐβιάσαντο· αἱ δὲ ὑβρισθεῖσαι τὴν συμφορὰν οὐκ ἐνέγκασαι, τῇ πατρίδι τῇ πεμψάσῃ

[1] Λεανδρίδας Dindorf, Κλεανδρίδας C. Müller.
[2] ἀπεφήνατο Wesseling: ἀπέφηνε τό.

soldiery. Accordingly, a number of men having recently arrived from Thebes, he persuaded them to say that the arms on the temple of Heracles had surprisingly disappeared and that word had gone abroad in Thebes that the heroes of old had taken them up and set off to help the Boeotians. He placed before them another man as one who had recently ascended from the cave of Trophonius,[1] who said that the god had directed them, when they won at Leuctra, to institute a contest with crowns for prizes in honour of Zeus the king. This indeed is the origin of this festival which the Boeotians now celebrate at Lebadeia. 371/0 B.C.

54. An aider and abettor of this device was Leandrias[2] the Spartan, who had been exiled from Lacedaemon and was then a member of the Theban expedition. He was produced in the assembly and declared that there was an ancient saying amongst the Spartans, that they would lose the supremacy when they should be defeated at Leuctra at the hands of the Thebans. Certain local oracle-mongers likewise came up to Epameinondas, saying that the Lacedaemonians were destined to meet with a great disaster by the tomb of the daughters of Leuctrus and Scedasus for the following reasons. Leuctrus was the person for whom this plain was named. His daughters and those of a certain Scedasus as well, being maidens, were violated by some Lacedaemonian ambassadors. The outraged girls, unable to endure their misfortune, called down curses on the country that had sent forth

[1] Near Lebadeia. Trophonius designates an underworld Boeotian Zeus (Chthonius) who gave oracles from this cave. For these stories see Polyaenus, 2. 3. 8.
[2] Not known elsewhere; perhaps an error for Cleandridas (son of Gylippus ?); see P.-W. *Realencyclopädie*, *s.vv.*

τοὺς ὑβριστὰς καταρασάμεναι τὸν βίον αὐτοχειρίᾳ
4 κατέστρεψαν. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων λεγομένων, καὶ τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδου συναγαγόντος ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοῖς οἰκείοις λόγοις προτρεψαμένου πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα, πάντες μετέθεντο τὰς γνώμας, καὶ τῆς μὲν δεισιδαιμονίας ἀπελύθησαν, πρὸς δὲ τὴν μάχην εὐθαρσεῖς ταῖς ψυχαῖς
5 κατέστησαν. ἦλθε δὲ καὶ συμμαχία κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν τοῖς Θηβαίοις παρὰ Θετταλῶν, πεζοὶ μὲν χίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντακόσιοι, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἰάσων. οὗτος δ᾽ ἔπεισε τούς τε Βοιωτοὺς καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀνοχὰς ποιήσασθαι
6 καὶ τὰ παράλογα τῆς τύχης εὐλαβηθῆναι. γενομένων δὲ τῶν σπονδῶν Κλεόμβροτος ἀνέζευξε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας, καὶ ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ ἄλλη δύναμις μεγάλη Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, ἡγουμένου Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου. οἱ γὰρ Σπαρτιᾶται θεωροῦντες τὴν ἑτοιμότητα τῶν Βοιωτῶν, καὶ τὸ θράσος καὶ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν εὐλαβούμενοι, τὴν δευτέραν ἀπεστάλκεισαν δύναμιν, ἵνα τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων περιγένωνται τῆς
7 τῶν πολεμίων τόλμης. συνελθουσῶν δ᾽ εἰς ταὐτὸ τῶν δυνάμεων αἰσχρὸν εἶναι ὑπέλαβον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δεδιέναι τὰς τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἀρετάς. διόπερ τὰς σπονδὰς παρ᾽ οὐδὲν ἡγησάμενοι μετὰ πολλῆς προθυμίας ἀνέκαμψαν εἰς Λεῦκτρα. ἑτοίμων δ᾽ ὄντων καὶ τῶν Βοιωτῶν πρὸς τὴν μάχην, ἐξέταττον ἀμφότεροι τὰς δυνάμεις.

55. Καὶ παρὰ μὲν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις οἱ ἀφ᾽

[1] A slightly different version of this story occurs in

their ravishers and took their lives by their own hands.[1] 371/0 B.C.
Many other such occurrences were reported, and when Epameinondas had convened an assembly and exhorted the soldiers by the appropriate pleas to meet the issue, they all shifted their resolutions, rid themselves of their superstition, and with courage in their hearts stood ready for the battle. There came also at this time to aid the Thebans an allied contingent from Thessaly, fifteen hundred infantry, and five hundred horsemen, commanded by Jason.[2] He persuaded both the Boeotians and the Lacedaemonians to make an armistice and so to guard against the caprices of Fortune. When the truce came into effect, Cleombrotus set out with his army from Boeotia, and there came to meet him another large army of Lacedaemonians and their allies under the command of Archidamus,[3] son of Agesilaüs. For the Spartans, seeing the preparedness of the Boeotians, and taking measures to meet their boldness and recklessness in battle, had dispatched the second army to overcome by the superior number of their combatants the daring of the enemy. Once these armies had united, the Lacedaemonians thought it cowardly to fear the valour of the Boeotians. So they disregarded the truce and with high spirits returned to Leuctra. The Boeotians too were ready for the battle and both sides marshalled their forces.

55. Now on the Lacedaemonian side the descen-

Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 20. 3-4. Pausanias, 9. 13. 5-6, is closer to Diodorus.

[2] According to Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 4. 20-26, Jason came after the battle of Leuctra, and there is no mention of an armistice.

[3] Archidamus likewise in Xenophon, *ibid.* 18, was dispatched after and not before the battle.

Ἡρακλέους γεγονότες ἡγεμόνες ἐτάχθησαν ἐπὶ τῶν κεράτων, Κλεόμβροτός τε ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ἀγησιλάου τοῦ βασιλέως υἱός, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἰδίᾳ τινὶ καὶ περιττῇ τάξει χρησάμενος διὰ τῆς ἰδίας στρατηγίας
2 περιεποιήσατο τὴν περιβόητον νίκην. ἐκλεξάμενος γὰρ ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐπὶ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος ἔστησε, μεθ' ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμελλε διαγωνίζεσθαι· τοὺς δ' ἀσθενεστάτους ἐπὶ τὸ ἕτερον κέρας τάξας παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς φυγομαχεῖν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ὑποχωρεῖν. διὸ καὶ λοξὴν ποιήσας τὴν φάλαγγα, τῷ τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους ἔχοντι κέρατι ἔγνω κρίνειν τὴν
3 μάχην. ὡς δ' αἵ τε σάλπιγγες ἐσήμαινον παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τὸ πολεμικὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ὁρμὴν συνηλάλαξαν αἱ δυνάμεις, οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς κέρασιν ἀμφοτέροις ἐπῆγον μηνοειδὲς τὸ σχῆμα τῆς φάλαγγος πεποιηκότες, οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ τῷ μὲν ἑτέρῳ κέρατι ὑπεχώρουν, τῷ δὲ ἑτέρῳ
4 δρόμῳ συνῆπτον τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὡς δὲ συνῆψαν ἀλλήλοις εἰς χεῖρας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκθύμως ἀμφοτέρων ἀγωνιζομένων ἰσόρροπος ἦν ἡ μάχη, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν διά τε τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πυκνότητα τῆς τάξεως πλεονεκτούντων πολλοὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἀνῃροῦντο. οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμενον ὑπενέγκαι τὸ βάρος τῆς τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἀνδραγαθίας, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀντιστάντων οἱ μὲν ἔπιπτον, οἱ δὲ κατετραυματίζοντο, πάσας τὰς
5 πληγὰς ἐναντίας λαμβάνοντες. ἕως μὲν οὖν ὁ βα-

dants of Heracles were stationed as commanders of the wings, namely Cleombrotus the king and Archidamus,[1] son of the King Agesilaüs, while on the Boeotian side Epameinondas, by employing an unusual disposition of his own, was enabled through his own strategy to achieve his famous victory. He selected from the entire army the bravest men and stationed them on one wing, intending to fight to the finish with them himself. The weakest he placed on the other wing and instructed them to avoid battle and withdraw gradually during the enemy's attack. So then, by arranging his phalanx in oblique formation, he planned to decide the issue of the battle by means of the wing in which were the élite. When the trumpets on both sides sounded the charge and the armies simultaneously with the first onset raised the battle-cry, the Lacedaemonians attacked both wings with their phalanx in crescent formation, while the Boeotians retreated on one wing, but on the other engaged the enemy in double-quick time. As they met in hand-to-hand combat, at first both fought ardently and the battle was evenly poised; shortly, however, as Epameinondas' men began to derive advantage from their valour and the denseness of their lines, many Peloponnesians began to fall. For they were unable to endure the weight of the courageous fighting of the élite corps; of those who had resisted some fell and others were wounded, taking all the blows in front. Now as long 371/0 B.C.

[1] See note on chap. 54. 6. It has been suggested that Xenophon, who fails to mention Epameinondas at Leuctra and represents Archidamus as being sent out after the battle, was attempting to belittle the part of Epameinondas as victor and to spare his best friend Agesilaüs, the father of Archidamus, the disgrace of his son's defeat. There is no evidence for this view.

σιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Κλεόμβροτος ἔζη, πολλοὺς ἔχων τοὺς συνασπίζοντας καὶ προθύμως πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἀποθνήσκοντας, ἄδηλος ἦν ἡ ῥοπὴ τῆς νίκης· ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτος πάντα κίνδυνον ὑπομένων οὐκ ἠδύνατο βιάσασθαι τοὺς ἀνθεστηκότας, ἡρωικῶς δὲ μαχόμενος καὶ πολλοῖς τραύμασι περιπεσὼν ἐτελεύτησε, τότε συνδρομῆς γενομένης περὶ τοῦ πτώματος νεκρῶν πλῆθος ἐσωρεύθη.

56. Ἀναρχίας δὲ γενομένης περὶ τὸ κέρας, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν βαρεῖς ἐγκείμενοι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῇ βίᾳ βραχὺ προέωσαν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως τοὺς πολεμίους, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγωνισάμενοι λαμπρῶς τοῦ μὲν σώματος ἐγκρατεῖς ἐγένοντο, τῆς δὲ νίκης
2 οὐκ ἴσχυσαν ἐφικέσθαι. τῶν γὰρ ἐπιλέκτων ὑπερβαλλομένων ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις, καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ παρακλήσεως Ἐπαμεινώνδου πολλὰ συμβαλλομένης, μόγις ἐβιάσθησαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀναχωροῦντες τὴν τάξιν οὐ διέλυον,[1] τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον πολλῶν ἀναιρουμένων, τοῦ δὲ παραγγέλλοντος ἡγεμόνος τετελευτηκότος, ἐγένετο παν-
3 τελὴς τροπὴ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἐπικείμενοι τοῖς φεύγουσι καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἐναντίων κατακόψαντες ἀπηνέγκαντο νίκην ἐπιφανεστάτην. συμβαλόντες γὰρ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων, καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις τῶν πολλαπλασίων παραδόξως περιγενόμενοι, μεγάλην δόξαν

[1] οὐ διέλυον Rhodoman, Madvig, διεφύλαττον Vogel: διέλυον MSS., Dindorf, Bekker.

as King Cleombrotus of the Lacedaemonians was alive and had with him many comrades-in-arms who were quite ready to die in his defence, it was uncertain which way the scales of victory inclined; but when, though he shrank from no danger, he proved unable to bear down his opponents, and perished in an heroic resistance after sustaining many wounds, then, as masses of men thronged about his body, there was piled up a great mound of corpses. 371/0 B.C.

56. There being no one in command of the wing, the heavy column led by Epameinondas bore down upon the Lacedaemonians, and at first by sheer force caused the line of the enemy to buckle somewhat; then, however, the Lacedaemonians, fighting gallantly about their king, got possession of his body, but were not strong enough to achieve victory. For as the corps of élite outdid them in feats of courage, and the valour and exhortations of Epameinondas contributed greatly to its prowess, the Lacedaemonians were with great difficulty forced back; at first, as they gave ground they would not break their formation, but finally, as many fell and the commander who would have rallied them had died, the army turned and fled in utter rout. Epameinondas' corps pursued the fugitives,[1] slew many who opposed them, and won for themselves a most glorious victory. For since they had met the bravest of the Greeks and with a small force had miraculously overcome many times their

[1] In the account of the battle, Diodorus fails to give any hint of cavalry action (see Xenophon, *l.c.* 10-13) which was co-ordinated with the rapid advance of the Theban *corps d'élite*. This co-ordination (see Cary, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 82), more perhaps than the denseness of the *corps* and the échelon formation of the Thebans, was a new factor in fighting later developed by Macedon.

ἐπ᾿ ἀνδρείᾳ κατεκτήσαντο.[1] μεγίστων δ᾿ ἐπαίνων ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἠξιώθη, διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀνδρείας μάλιστα καὶ στρατηγικῆς συνέσεως τοὺς ἀνικήτους ἡγεμόνας τῆς Ἑλλάδος καταγωνισμένος.
4 ἔπεσον δ᾿ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν τετρακισχιλίων, τῶν δὲ Βοιωτῶν περὶ τριακοσίους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα περί τε τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναιρέσεως καὶ τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀπαλλαγῆς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην συμβάντα τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τέλος.

57. Τοῦ δ᾿ ἐνιαυσίου χρόνου διεληλυθότος Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἦρχε Δυσνίκητος,[2] ἐν Ῥώμῃ δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλίαρχοι κατεστάθησαν τέτταρες, Κόιντος Σερουίλιος καὶ Λεύκιος Φούριος, ἔτι δὲ Γάιος Λικίνιος καὶ Πόπλιος Κοίλιος.[3] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Θηβαῖοι μεγάλῃ δυνάμει στρατεύσαντες ἐπ᾿ Ὀρχομενὸν ἐπεβάλοντο μὲν ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν, Ἐπαμεινώνδου δὲ συμβουλεύσαντος ὅτι τὰ διὰ τῆς ἀνδρείας κατεργασθέντα τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ δεῖ[4] διαφυλάττειν τοὺς τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας ὀρεγομένους, μετέγνωσαν. διόπερ τοὺς μὲν Ὀρχομενίους εἰς τὴν τῶν συμμάχων χώραν κατέταξαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Φωκεῖς καὶ Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ Λοκροὺς φίλους ποιησάμενοι τὴν εἰς Βοιωτίαν ἐπάνοδον ἐποιήσαντο.
2 Ἰάσων δὲ ὁ Φερῶν τύραννος ἀεὶ μᾶλλον αὐξόμενος ἐστράτευσεν εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα, καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἡράκλειαν τὴν ἐν Τραχινίᾳ διὰ προδοσίας ἑλὼν ἀνά-

[1] κατεκτήσαντο Reiske: κατεστήσαντο.

[2] Δυσνίκητος (cp. Kirchner, *Pros. Att.* no. 4580)] Δυσκίνητος H.

[3] Κύλιος P, Κίλιος FJK, *Cloelius* Livy, 6. 31. 1.

number, they won a great reputation for valour. The 371/0 B.C.
highest praises were accorded the general Epameinondas, who chiefly by his own courage and by his shrewdness as a commander had defeated in battle the invincible leaders of Greece. More than four thousand[1] Lacedaemonians fell in the battle but only about three hundred Boeotians. Following the battle they made a truce to allow for taking up the bodies of the dead and the departure of the Lacedaemonians to the Peloponnese.

Such was the outcome of events relating to the battle of Leuctra.

57. When the year had ended, at Athens Dysni- 370/69 B.C.
cetus was archon, and in Rome military tribunes with consular power were elected, four in number: Quintus Servilius, Lucius Furius, Gaius Licinius, and Publius Coelius. During their term of office the Thebans, taking the field with a large army against Orchomenus, aimed to reduce the city to slavery, but when Epameinondas advised them that any who aimed at supremacy over the Greeks ought to safeguard by their generous treatment what they had achieved by their valour, they changed their mind. Accordingly they reckoned the people of Orchomenus as belonging to the territory of their allies, and later, having made friends of the Phocians, Aetolians, and Locrians, returned to Boeotia again.[2] Jason,[3] tyrant of Pherae, whose power was constantly increasing, invaded Locris, first took Heracleia in Trachinia by

[1] Diodorus probably is exaggerating. Xenophon (*Hell.* 6. 4. 15) says "almost a thousand."

[2] For the allies of the Thebans in 370 see Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 5. 23; *Agesilaüs*, 2. 24. [3] See *Hell.* 6. 4. 27-28.

[4] δεῖ added by Scaliger.

στατον ἐποίησε, καὶ τὴν χώραν Οἰταίοις καὶ Μηλιεῦσιν ἐδωρήσατο· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν Περραιβίαν ἀναζεύξας[1] τῶν πόλεων τὰς μὲν λόγοις φιλανθρώποις προσηγάγετο, τὰς δὲ διὰ τῆς βίας ἐχειρώσατο. ταχὺ δὲ τῆς δυναστείας αὐτοῦ στερεουμένης, οἱ τὴν Θετταλίαν οἰκοῦντες ὑφεωρῶντο τὴν αὔξησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν.

3 Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἀργείων ἐγένετο στάσις καὶ φόνος τοσοῦτος ὅσος παρ' ἑτέροις τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐδέποτε γεγονέναι μνημονεύεται. ἐκλήθη δὲ ὁ νεωτερισμὸς οὗτος παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι σκυταλισμός, διὰ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ θανάτου ταύτης τυχὼν τῆς προσηγορίας.

58. Ἡ δ' οὖν[2] στάσις ἐγένετο διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀργείων δημοκρατουμένης καί τινων δημαγωγῶν παροξυνόντων τὸ πλῆθος κατὰ τῶν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις καὶ δόξαις ὑπερεχόντων, οἱ διαβαλλόμενοι συστάντες ἔγνωσαν καταλῦσαι
2 τὸν δῆμον. βασανισθέντων δέ τινων ἐκ τῶν συνεργεῖν δοκούντων, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι φοβηθέντες τὴν ἐκ τῶν βασάνων τιμωρίαν ἑαυτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν μετέστησαν, ἑνὸς δ' ἐν ταῖς βασάνοις ὁμολογήσαντος καὶ πίστιν λαβόντος, ὁ μὲν μηνυτὴς τριάκοντα τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων κατηγόρησεν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος οὐκ ἐλέγξας ἀκριβῶς ἅπαντας τοὺς διαβληθέντας ἀπέ-
3 κτεινε καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἐδήμευσεν. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ἐν ὑποψίαις ὄντων, καὶ τῶν δημαγωγῶν ψευδέσι διαβολαῖς συνηγορούντων, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξηγριώθη τὸ πλῆθος ὥστε πάντων τῶν

[1] ἀναζεύξας Dindorf, Vogel: ἐπιζεύξας.

[2] δ' οὖν Dindorf: γοῦν MSS., Bekker, Vogel.

treachery, laid it waste, and gave the country to the Oetaeans and Malians; then later, moving into Perrhaebia, he won over some of the cities by generous promises, and subdued others by force. As his position of influence speedily became established, the inhabitants of Thessaly looked with suspicion on his aggrandizement and encroachments. 370/69 B.C.

While these things were going on, in the city of Argos civil strife broke out accompanied by slaughter of a greater number than is recorded ever to have occurred anywhere else in Greece. Among the Greeks this revolutionary movement was called "Club-law," receiving this appellation on account of the manner of the execution.

58. Now the strife arose from the following causes: the city of Argos[1] had a democratic form of government, and certain demagogues instigated the populace against the outstanding citizens of property and reputation. The victims of the hostile charges then got together and decided to overthrow the democracy. When some of those who were thought to be implicated were subjected to torture, all but one, fearing the agony of torture, committed suicide, but this one came to terms under torture, received a pledge of immunity, and as informer denounced thirty of the most distinguished citizens, and the democracy without a thorough investigation put to death all those who were accused and confiscated their property. But many others were under suspicion, and as the demagogues supported false accusations, the mob was wrought up to such a pitch of savagery that they condemned to

[1] See also Plutarch, *Praecepta gerendae reip.* 814; Isocrates, *Philip*, 52; Dionysius of Hal. 7. 66. 5.

κατηγορουμένων, ὄντων πολλῶν καὶ[1] μεγαλοπλούτων, καταγνῶναι θάνατον. ἀναιρεθέντων δὲ τῶν δυνατῶν ἀνδρῶν πλειόνων ἢ χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων,[2] καὶ τῶν δημαγωγῶν αὐτῶν ὁ δῆμος οὐκ ἐφείσατο.
4 διὰ γὰρ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς οἱ μὲν δημαγωγοὶ φοβηθέντες μή τι παράλογον αὐτοῖς ἀπαντήσῃ, τῆς κατηγορίας ἀπέστησαν, οἱ δ' ὄχλοι δόξαντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐγκαταλελεῖφθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο παροξυνθέντες, ἅπαντας τοὺς δημαγωγοὺς ἀπέκτειναν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, ὡσπερεί τινος νεμεσήσαντος δαιμονίου, τῆς ἁρμοζούσης τιμωρίας ἔτυχον, ὁ δὲ δῆμος παυσάμενος τῆς λύττης[3] εἰς τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ἔννοιαν[4] ἀποκατέστη.

59. Περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Λυκομήδης ὁ Τεγεάτης ἔπεισε τοὺς Ἀρκάδας εἰς μίαν συντέλειαν ταχθῆναι καὶ κοινὴν ἔχειν σύνοδον συνεστῶσαν ἐξ ἀνδρῶν μυρίων, καὶ τούτους ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν περὶ
2 πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης βουλεύεσθαι. γενομένης δὲ στάσεως μεγάλης παρὰ τοῖς Ἀρκάσι, καὶ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων διακριθέντων τῶν διαφερομένων, πολλοὶ μὲν ἀνῃρέθησαν πλείους δὲ τῶν χιλίων καὶ τετρακοσίων ἔφυγον, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, οἱ δ' εἰς τὸ[5]
3 Παλλάντιον. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἐκδοθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Παλλαντίων ὑπὸ τῶν νενικηκότων ἐσφαγιάσθησαν·

[1] ὄντων πολλῶν καὶ Dindorf, Bekker: ὄντων μὲν πολλῶν καὶ (P omits καί, followed by Vogel).
[2] καὶ διακοσίων omitted by P, καὶ ἑξακοσίων FJK.
[3] λύττης Schäfer: λύπης.
[4] ἔννοιαν Post: εὔνοιαν.
[5] τὸ Wesseling: τήν.

[1] According to Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 1. 23, Lycomedes was

death all the accused, who were many and wealthy. 370/69 B.C.
When, however, more than twelve hundred influential men had been removed, the populace did not spare the demagogues themselves. For because of the magnitude of the calamity the demagogues were afraid that some unforeseen turn of fortune might overtake them and therefore desisted from their accusation, whereas the mob, now thinking that they had been left in the lurch by them, were angry at this and put to death all the demagogues. So these men received the punishment which fitted their crimes as if some divinity were visiting its just resentment upon them, and the people, eased of their mad rage, were restored to their senses.

59. About the same time, Lycomedes[1] of Tegea prevailed upon the Arcadians to form a single confederacy[2] with a common council to consist of ten thousand men empowered to decide issues of war and peace. But since civil war broke out in Arcadia on a large scale and the quarrelling factions came to a decision by force of arms, many were killed and more than fourteen hundred fled, some to Sparta, others to Pallantium.[3] Now these latter refugees were surrendered by the Pallantians and slaughtered by the victorious party, whereas those who took refuge

from Mantineia (also Pausanias, 8. 27. 2 and Diodorus himself, chap. 62. 2). Lycomedes urged the Arcadians, who at this time entered the services of other states in great numbers as mercenaries, to devote themselves to strengthening their own state.

[2] See for the Arcadian League Cary, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 88 f., or better Glotz, *Hist. gr.* 3. 154-156. Also Freeman, *History of Federal Government*, 154 ff.

[3] Arcadian town just west of Tegea, said to have been the home of Evander and origin of the name Palatine (Virgil, *Aeneïd*, 8. 51-54).

οἱ δ' εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην φυγόντες ἔπεισαν τοὺς Λακε-
4 δαιμονίους εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν στρατεῦσαι. διόπερ
Ἀγησίλαος ὁ βασιλεὺς μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν φυ-
γάδων ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν τῶν Τεγεατῶν χώραν διὰ
τὸ δοκεῖν τούτους τῆς στάσεως καὶ τῆς φυγῆς
αἰτίους γεγονέναι. πορθήσας δὲ τὴν χώραν καὶ τῇ
πόλει προσβολὰς ποιησάμενος κατεπλήξατο τῶν
Ἀρκάδων τοὺς ἐναντιοπραγοῦντας.

60. Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Ἰάσων ὁ
Φερῶν τύραννος, συνέσει τε στρατηγικῇ διαφέρων
καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν περιοίκων εἰς συμμαχίαν προηγ-
μένος,[1] ἔπεισε τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῆς
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας· ταύτην γὰρ ὥσπερ ἔπ-
αθλον ἀρετῆς προκεῖσθαι τοῖς δυναμένοις αὐτῆς
2 ἀμφισβητῆσαι. Λακεδαιμονίους γὰρ συνέβαινε περὶ
Λεῦκτρα μεγάλῃ συμφορᾷ περιπεπτωκέναι, Ἀθη-
ναίους δὲ μόνον τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχῆς ἀντ-
έχεσθαι, Θηβαίους δὲ τῶν πρωτείων ἀξίους μὴ
εἶναι, Ἀργείους δὲ διὰ στάσεις καὶ φόνους ἐμφυ-
λίους τεταπεινῶσθαι. διόπερ οἱ Θετταλοὶ προστη-
σάμενοι τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμόνα Ἰάσονα τούτῳ τὰ κατὰ
τὸν πόλεμον ἐπέτρεψαν. ὁ δὲ Ἰάσων παραλαβὼν
τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν τε πλησίον ἐθνῶν τινα προσ-
ηγάγετο καὶ πρὸς Ἀμύνταν τὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων
βασιλέα συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατο.
3 Ἴδιον δέ τι συνέβη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν·
τῶν γὰρ ἐν δυναστείαις ὄντων τρεῖς ἐτελεύτησαν
περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν. Ἀμύντας μὲν ὁ Ἀρριδαίου[2]

[1] *προηγμένος* Vogel (cp. Book 16. 84. 1), *προσαγαγόμενος* Schäfer followed by Dindorf, Bekker: *προηγούμενος* PAF, *προσαγόμενος cet.*

[2] *ὁ Ἀρριδαίου* Dindorf: *Θαρραλέου.*

in Sparta prevailed upon the Lacedaemonians to invade Arcadia.[1] Accordingly King Agesilaüs with an army and the band of fugitives invaded the territory of the Tegeans, who were believed to have been the cause of the insurrection and the expulsions. By devastation of the countryside and assaults upon the city, he cowed the Arcadians of the opposing party. 370/69 B.C.

60. While these things were going on, Jason,[2] tyrant of Pherae, because of his superior shrewdness as a general and his success in attracting many of his neighbours into an alliance, prevailed upon the Thessalians to lay claim to the supremacy in Greece; for this was a sort of prize for valour open to those strong enough to contend for it. Now it happened that the Lacedaemonians had sustained a great disaster at Leuctra; that the Athenians laid claim to the mastery of the sea only; that the Thebans were unworthy of first rank; and that the Argives had been brought low by civil wars and internecine slaughter. So the Thessalians put Jason forward as leader[3] of the whole country, and as such gave him supreme command in war. Jason accepted the command, won over some of the tribes near by, and entered into alliance with Amyntas king of the Macedonians.

A peculiar coincidence befell in this year, for three of those in positions of power died about the same time. Amyntas,[4] son of Arrhidaeus, king of Mace-

[1] See Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 5. 10-18.

[2] See chap. 54. 5.

[3] Jason was made Tagus of the Thessalians, Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 1. 18. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], 3. 2. 237, prefers Diodorus' date 371 to Xenophon's 375/4. For Jason's ambitions see Cary, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 83. Jason's death (§ 5) caused the sudden collapse of unification in Thessaly and opened the door to Theban aggressions.

[4] See Book 14. 89, 92. 3; chap. 19. 2 and Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], 3. 2. 56-58.

βασιλεύων τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρξας ἔτη εἴκοσι καὶ τέτταρα, υἱοὺς ἀπολιπὼν τρεῖς, Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Περδίκκαν καὶ Φίλιππον· διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ υἱὸς[1] Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ ἦρξεν
4 ἐνιαυτόν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἀγησίπολις ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς μετήλλαξεν ἄρξας ἐνιαυτόν, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος Κλεομένης ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐβασί-
5 λευσεν ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ τέτταρα.[2] τρίτος δὲ Ἰάσων ὁ Φεραῖος ἡγεμὼν ᾑρημένος τῆς Θετταλίας καὶ δοκῶν ἐπιεικῶς ἄρχειν τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων, ἐδολοφονήθη, ὡς μὲν Ἔφορος γέγραφεν, ὑπό τινων ἑπτὰ νεανίσκων συνομοσαμένων δόξης ἕνεκα, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι γράφουσιν, ὑπὸ Πολυδώρου τἀδελφοῦ. οὗτος[3] δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς διαδεξάμενος τὴν δυναστείαν
6 ἦρξεν ἐνιαυτόν. Δοῦρις δ' ὁ Σάμιος ὁ ἱστοριογράφος τῆς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱστορίας ἐντεῦθεν ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἀρχήν.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.

61. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Λυσιστράτου παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο στάσις, τῶν μὲν οἰομένων δεῖν ὑπάτους, τῶν δὲ χιλιάρχους αἱρεῖσθαι. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τινα χρόνον ἀναρχία τὴν στάσιν ὑπέλαβε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξε χιλιάρχους αἱρεῖσθαι ἕξ· καὶ κατεστάθησαν Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος καὶ Γάιος Οὐεργίνιος[4] καὶ Σερούιος[5] Σουλπίκιος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Λεύκιος Κοΐντιος καὶ Γάιος Κορνήλιος, ἔτι δὲ
2 Γάιος Οὐαλέριος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Πολύδωρος ὁ

[1] ὁ υἱὸς Dindorf: οὗτος AR, αὐτοῦ *cet.*
[2] τριάκοντα καὶ τέτταρα] ἑξήκοντα Book 20. 29. 1.
[3] οὗτος Wesseling: οὕτως PAL, οὕτω *cet.*
[4] So MSS., except σουεργίνιος P, Οὐετούριος Rhodoman (cp. Livy, 6. 32. 3).

donia, died after a rule of twenty-four years, leaving behind him three sons, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip. The son Alexander[1] succeeded to the throne and ruled for one year. Likewise Agesipolis, king of the Lacedaemonians, died after ruling a year, the kingship going to Cleomenes his brother who succeeded to the throne and had a reign of thirty-four years.[2] Thirdly, Jason of Pherae, who had been chosen ruler of Thessaly and was reputed to be governing his subjects with moderation, was assassinated,[3] either, as Ephorus writes, by seven young men who conspired together for the repute it would bring, or, as some historians say, by his brother Polydorus. This Polydorus himself also, after succeeding to the position of leader, ruled for one year. Duris[4] of Samos, the historian, began his History of the Greeks at this point. 370/69 B.C.

These then were the events of this year.

61. When Lysistratus was archon at Athens, civil strife arose among the Romans, one party thinking there should be consuls, others that military tribunes should be chosen. For a time then anarchy supervened on civil strife, later they decided to choose six military tribunes, and those elected were Lucius Aemilius, Gaius Verginius, Servius Sulpicius, Lucius Quintius, Gaius Cornelius, and Gaius Valerius. During their term of office Polydorus of Pherae the ruler 369/8 B.C.

[1] See chap. 67. 4. The beginning of his reign is placed in the archonship of Phrasicleides 371/0 in the *Marm. Par.* 72.
[2] This should be sixty years ten months. See note vol. x, p. 217 and Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], 4. 2. 157.
[3] See Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 4. 31-32.
[4] Duris carried his history at least to the death of Lysimachus (*FHG*, 2. 468 and fr. 33).
[5] Σερούιος P: Σερουίλιος Vulgate.

Φεραῖος ὁ τῶν Θετταλῶν ἄρξας ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου
τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ[1] ἀνῃρέθη φαρμάκῳ προκληθεὶς εἰς
μέθην· τὴν δὲ δυναστείαν διαδεξάμενος Ἀλέξανδρος
ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς[2] ἦρξεν ἔτη ἕνδεκα. οὗτος δὲ παρα-
νόμως καὶ βιαίως κτησάμενος τὴν δυναστείαν, ἀκο-
λούθως ταύτῃ τῇ προαιρέσει διῴκει τὰ κατὰ τὴν
ἀρχήν. τῶν γὰρ πρὸ αὐτοῦ δυναστῶν ἐπιεικῶς
προσφερομένων τοῖς πλήθεσι καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀγαπω-
μένων, οὗτος βιαίως καὶ χαλεπῶς ἄρχων ἐμισεῖτο.
3 διὸ καὶ τὴν παρανομίαν φοβηθέντες τῶν Λαρισ-
σαίων τινές, οἱ δι' εὐγένειαν Ἀλευάδαι προσ-
αγορευόμενοι, συνέθεντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους καταλῦσαι
τὴν δυναστείαν. ἀπελθόντες δ' ἐκ Λαρίσσης εἰς
Μακεδονίαν ἔπεισαν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν βασιλέα συγ-
4 καταλῦσαι τὸν τύραννον. τούτων δὲ περὶ ταῦτα
διατριβόντων, ὁ Φεραῖος Ἀλέξανδρος πυθόμενος
τὴν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ παρασκευήν, κατέλεγε τοὺς εἰς τὴν
στρατείαν εὐθέτους, διανοούμενος ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ
συστήσασθαι τὴν μάχην. ὁ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων
βασιλεύς, ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς ἐκ Λαρίσσης
φυγάδας, φθάσας τοὺς πολεμίους ἧκε μετὰ τῆς
δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Λάρισσαν· παρεισαχθεὶς δ' ὑπὸ
τῶν Λαρισσαίων ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ἐκράτησε τῆς
5 πόλεως πλὴν τῆς ἄκρας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τήν τε
ἄκραν ἐξεπολιόρκησε[3] καὶ Κραννῶνα πόλιν προσ-
αγαγόμενος ὡμολόγησε μὲν τοῖς Θετταλοῖς ἀποδώ-
σειν τὰς πόλεις, καταφρονήσας δὲ τῆς δόξης, καὶ

[1] ἀδελφίδου P : ἀδελφοῦ Vulgate.
[2] ἀδελφιδοῦς Wesseling : ἀδελφός.
[3] ἐξεπολιόρκησε Hertlein : ἐπολιόρκησε.

[1] According to Xenophon (*Hell.* 6. 4. 33), Polydorus and Polyphron, brothers of Jason, succeeded Jason; Polyphron

of Thessaly was poisoned by Alexander [1] his nephew, 369/8 B.C.
who had challenged him to a drinking bout, and the nephew Alexander succeeded to the rule as overlord and held it for eleven years. Having acquired the rule illegally and by force, he administered it consistently with the policy he had chosen to follow. For while the rulers before him had treated the peoples with moderation and were therefore loved, he was hated for his violent and severe rule.[2] Accordingly, in fear of his lawlessness, some Larissaeans, called Alcuadae [3] because of their noble descent, conspired together to overthrow the overlordship. Journeying from Larissa to Macedonia, they prevailed upon the King Alexander to join them in overthrowing the tyrant. But while they were occupied with these matters, Alexander of Pherae, learning of the preparations against him, gathered such men as were conveniently situated for the campaign, intending to give battle in Macedonia. But the Macedonian king, accompanied by refugees from Larissa, anticipated the enemy by invading Larissa with the army, and having been secretly admitted by the Larissaeans within the fortifications, he mastered the city with the exception of the citadel. Later he took the citadel by siege, and, having also won the city of Crannon, at first covenanted to restore the cities to the Thessalians, but then, in contempt of public

slew Polydorus and was himself slain by Alexander, son of Polydorus, the next year (*ibid.* 34). For Alexander's death see Book 16. 14. 1.

[2] Xenophon attests the cruel character of his rule (*l.c.* 35 ff.).

[3] Supposedly descended from Aleuas, a Heraclid, the Aleuadae formed two branches: the Aleuadae of Larissa and the Scopadae of Crannon. They were the great aristocrats of Thessalian society.

φρουρὰς ἀξιολόγους εἰσαγαγών, αὐτὸς κατεῖχε τὰς πόλεις. ὁ δὲ Φεραῖος Ἀλέξανδρος καταδιωχθεὶς ἅμα καὶ καταπλαγεὶς ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὰς Φεράς.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Θετταλίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

62. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν Πολύτροπον στρατηγὸν ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν, ἔχοντα πολιτικοὺς μὲν ὁπλίτας χιλίους, φυγάδας δ' Ἀργείων καὶ Βοιωτῶν πεντακοσίους. οὗτος δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς Ὀρχομενὸν τὸν Ἀρκαδικὸν παρεφύλαττε τὴν πόλιν ταύτην, οἰκείως διακειμέ-
2 νην πρὸς τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας. Λυκομήδης δ' ὁ Μαντινεύς, στρατηγὸς ὢν τῶν Ἀρκάδων, παραλαβὼν τοὺς καλουμένους ἐπιλέκτους, ὄντας πεντακισχιλίους, ἧκεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀρχομενόν. προαγαγόντων δὲ τὴν δύναμιν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐγένετο μάχη καρτερά, καθ' ἣν ὅ τε στρατηγὸς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀνῃρέθη καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς διακοσίους, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ συνεδιώχθησαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.
3 οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες, καίπερ νενικηκότες, ὅμως εὐλαβοῦντο τὸ βάρος τῆς Σπάρτης, καὶ καθ' αὑτοὺς οὐχ ὑπέλαβον δυνήσεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις διαπολεμεῖν. διὸ καὶ παραλαβόντες Ἀργείους τε καὶ Ἠλείους, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἀξιοῦντες συμμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι κατὰ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὡς δ' οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς προσεῖχε, διαπρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους ἔπεισαν αὐτοὺς συμμαχίαν συνθέσθαι κατὰ τῶν Λακεδαι-

[1] See chap. 67. 4.

[2] "The Orchomenians refused to be members of the Arcadian League on account of their enmity toward the Mantineans" (Xenophon, *Hell*. 6. 5. 11, trans. by Brownson, *L.C.L.*).

opinion, he brought into them garrisons of consider- 369/8 B.C.
able strength and held the cities himself.[1] Alexander of Pherae, hotly pursued and alarmed at the same time, returned to Pherae.

Such was the state of affairs in Thessaly.

62. In the Peloponnese, the Lacedaemonians dispatched Polytropus as general to Arcadia with a thousand citizen hoplites and five hundred Argive and Boeotian refugees. He reached the Arcadian Orchomenus and guarded it closely since it was on friendly terms with Sparta.[2] Lycomedes of Mantineia, general of the Arcadians, with five thousand men styled the élite,[3] came to Orchomenus. As the Lacedaemonians led forth their army from the city a great battle ensued in which the Lacedaemonian general was killed[4] and two hundred others, while the rest were driven into the city. The Arcadians, in spite of their victory, felt a prudent respect for the strength of Sparta and believed that they would not be able by themselves to cope with the Lacedaemonians. Accordingly, associating Argives and Eleians with themselves, they first sent envoys to Athens requesting them to join in an alliance against the Spartans, but as no one heeded them, they sent an embassy to the Thebans and persuaded them to join an alliance against the Lacedaemonians.[5] Immediately, then,

[3] These were called *eparitoi*. See Xenophon, *Hell*. 7. 4. 22, 33, 36; 5. 3; and *infra*, chap. 67. 2.

[4] *Hell*. 6. 5. 14.

[5] See Demosthenes, 16. 12, 19, and Xenophon, *Hell*. 6. 5. 19. For the policy of Athens in this period see Cloché, *La Politique étrangère d'Athènes*, 97-99. Cloché thinks Athens had a chance to expand her confederacy at the expense of her former ally Thebes and her former enemy Sparta, but her refusal to help (owing especially to Elis' recalcitrancy) at this time gave Thebes the opportunity to step in.

4 μονίων. εὐθὺς οὖν οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐξῆγον,
προσλαβόμενοι συμμάχους Λοκρούς τε καὶ Φωκεῖς.
οὗτοι μὲν οὖν προῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον,
βοιωταρχούντων Ἐπαμεινώνδου καὶ Πελοπίδου·
τούτοις γὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι βοιωτάρχαι παρεκεχωρήκεισαν
ἑκουσίως τῆς στρατηγίας διά τε τὴν σύνεσιν καὶ
5 τὴν ἀνδρείαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ὡς δὲ κατήντησαν ἐπὶ
τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν, ἧκον πρὸς αὐτοὺς πανδημεὶ οἵ τε
Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἠλεῖοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
σύμμαχοι πάντες. ἀθροισθέντων δὲ πλειόνων ἢ
πεντακισμυρίων,[1] οἱ μὲν ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν συνεδρεύ-
σαντες ἔγνωσαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν βαδίζειν τὴν Σπάρτην
καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Λακωνικὴν πορθῆσαι.

63. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πολλοὺς μὲν ἀποβε-
βληκότες τῶν νέων ἐν τῇ περὶ Λεῦκτρα συμφορᾷ,
οὐκ ὀλίγους δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἥτταις ἀπολωλεκότες,
καὶ τὸ σύνολον εἰς ὀλίγους πολιτικοὺς στρατιώτας
ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης συγκεκλεισμένοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις
τῶν συμμάχων τῶν μὲν ἀφεστηκότων, τῶν δὲ διὰ
τὰς ὁμοίας αἰτίας ὀλιγανδρούντων, εἰς πολλὴν ἀμη-
χανίαν ἔπιπτον. διόπερ ἠναγκάζοντο καταφεύγειν
ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων βοήθειαν, οἷς τριάκοντα μὲν
τυράννους ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις ἐπέστησαν,
τὰ δὲ τείχη τῆς πόλεως ἐκώλυσαν ἀνοικοδομεῖν,[2]
ἐπεβάλοντο δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄρδην ἀναιροῦντες τὴν
2 Ἀττικὴν ποιῆσαι μηλόβοτον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδὲν
ἰσχυρότερόν ἐστιν ἀνάγκης καὶ τύχης, δι᾽ ὧν ἐβιά-

[1] *πεντακισμυρίων*] *ἑπτακισμυρίων* Wesseling (cp. Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 24. 2 and *Agesilaüs*, 31. 1).

[2] *ἀνοικοδομεῖν* Hertlein : *οἰκοδομεῖν*.

[1] The Thirty were instituted as the governing board at Athens by Lysander after the capture of the city (404 B.C.)

the Boeotians led out their army, taking some Lo- 369/8 B.C.
crians and Phocians along as allies. Now these men advanced against the Peloponnese under the boeotarchs Epameinondas and Pelopidas, for the other boeotarchs had willingly relinquished the command to these in recognition of their shrewdness in the art of war and their courage. When they reached Arcadia, the Arcadians, Eleians, Argives, and all the other allies joined them in full force. And when more than fifty thousand had gathered, their leaders sitting in council decided to march upon Sparta itself and lay waste all Laconia.

63. As for the Lacedaemonians, since they had cast away many of their young men in the disaster at Leuctra and in their other defeats had lost not a few, and were, taking all together, restricted by the blows of fortune to but few citizen soldiers, and, furthermore, since some of their allies had seceded and others were experiencing a shortage of men for reasons similar to their own, they sank into a state of great weakness. Hence they were compelled to have recourse to the aid of the Athenians, the very people over whom they had once set up thirty tyrants,[1] whom they had forbidden to rebuild the walls of their city, whose city they had aimed utterly to destroy, and whose territory, Attica, they wished to turn into a sheepwalk. Yet, after all, nothing is stronger than necessity and fate, which compelled the Lacedaemonians to

following the defeat of Aegospotami. Though Sparta's allies wished to destroy Athens utterly, Sparta herself would not allow such drastic punishment, but did demand the dismantling of the walls, which were torn down by the Athenian populace to the accompaniment of flute music. Though forbidden to rebuild, when, after the victory of Cnidus (394 B.C.), Conon returned to Athens, the people once again built the walls.

σθησαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν πολεμιωτάτων δεηθῆναι. ὅμως δ' οὐ διεσφάλησαν τῶν ἐλπίδων. ὁ γὰρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος, μεγαλόψυχος ὢν καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, τὴν μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων ἰσχὺν οὐ κατεπλάγησαν, τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ κινδυνεύουσιν ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν πανδημεί. καὶ παραχρῆμα στρατηγὸν καταστήσαντες τὸν Ἰφικράτην ἐξέπεμψαν καὶ τοὺς νέους αὐθημερόν, ὄντας μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους. Ἰφικράτης μὲν οὖν, προθύμους ἔχων τοὺς στρατιώτας, προῆγε μετὰ τῆς
3 δυνάμεως κατὰ σπουδήν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ[1] τοὺς ὅρους τῆς Λακωνικῆς καταστρατοπεδευόντων, καὶ αὐτοὶ πανδημεὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης ἔξοδον ποιησάμενοι προῆγον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους, ταῖς μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν δυνάμεσι τεταπεινωμένοι, ταῖς δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρεταῖς τεθαρ-
4 ρηκότες. οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ὁρῶντες τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων χώραν δυσείσβολον οὖσαν, τὸ μὲν ἀθρόᾳ τηλικαύτῃ δυνάμει ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐμβολὴν οὐχ ἡγοῦντο συμφέρειν, εἰς τέτταρα δὲ μέρη διελόμενοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς κατὰ πλείονας τόπους ἔκριναν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἔφοδον.

64. Ἡ μὲν οὖν πρώτη μερὶς ἡ[2] τῶν Βοιωτῶν μέσην[3] τὴν πορείαν ἐποιήσατο ἐπὶ τὴν Σελλασίαν[4] καλουμένην πόλιν, καὶ τοὺς τῇδε κατοικοῦντας
2 ἀπέστησε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ὅρους τῆς Τεγεάτιδος χώρας ἐμβαλόντες συνῆψαν μάχην τοῖς φρουροῦσι τὰς παρόδους, καὶ τόν

[1] ἐπὶ] περὶ Dindorf, Vogel. [2] ἡ added by Vogel.
[3] μέσην Madvig, ἣν, ἡ Wurm : ἴσην.
[4] Ἑλλασίαν PHL, Vogel.

request the aid of their bitterest enemies. Nevertheless they were not disappointed of their hopes. For the Athenian people, magnanimous and generous, were not terrified by the power of Thebes, and voted to aid with all their forces the Lacedaemonians now that they were in danger of enslavement. Immediately they appointed Iphicrates general and dispatched him with twelve thousand young men the self-same day.[1] Iphicrates, then, whose men were in high spirits, advanced with the army at top speed. Meanwhile the Lacedaemonians, as the enemy took up quarters on the borders of Laconia, issued in full force from Sparta and marched on to meet them, weakened in military force but strong in inward courage. Now Epameinondas and the others, perceiving that the country of the Lacedaemonians was difficult to invade, thought it not to their advantage to make the invasion with such a large force in a body, and so decided to divide their army into four columns and enter at several points.[2] 369/8 B.C.

64. Now the first contingent, composed of the Boeotians, took the middle route to the city known as Sellasia[3] and caused its inhabitants to revolt from the Lacedaemonians. The Argives, entering by the borders of Tegeatis,[4] engaged in battle the garrison

[1] See Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 5. 33-49. Diodorus brings in too soon the dispatch of Iphicrates and his army. It belongs to the spring of 369, after the campaign in Laconia.

[2] The best account of this invasion is in Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 5. 22-32. See also Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 24, *Agesilaüs*, 31-32; Pausanias, 9. 14; Polyaenus, 2. 1. 14, 15, 27, 29; Nepos, *Agesilaüs*, 6; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 14. 27. The invasion of Laconia belongs to the winter 370/69.

[3] A rendezvous deep in Laconian territory north of Sparta.

[4] South-eastern corner of Arcadia bordering Argolis.

τε ἡγεμόνα τῆς φρουρᾶς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Σπαρτιάτην ἀνεῖλον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς διακοσίους ἀπέκτειναν, ἐν οἷς ὑπῆρχον καὶ οἱ τῶν Βοιωτῶν
3 φυγάδες. ἡ δὲ τρίτη μερίς, ἐκ τῶν Ἀρκάδων συνεστηκυῖα καὶ στρατιώτας ἔχουσα πλείστους, εἰσέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Σκιρῖτιν καλουμένην χώραν, ἣν παρεφύλαττεν Ἰσχόλας, ἀνὴρ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ συνέσει διαφέρων, μετὰ πολλῶν στρατιωτῶν. οὗτος δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων στρατιωτῶν ἐπετελέσατο πρᾶξιν
4 ἡρωικὴν καὶ μνήμης ἀξίαν. ὁρῶν γὰρ ὅτι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων πάντες οἱ συνάψαντες μάχην ἀναιρεθήσονται, τὸ μὲν λιπεῖν τὴν ἐν ταῖς παρόδοις τάξιν ἀνάξιον τῆς Σπάρτης ἔκρινε, τὸ δὲ διασῶσαι τοὺς στρατιώτας χρήσιμον ἔσεσθαι τῇ πατρίδι· διὸ[1] παραδόξως ἀμφοτέρων προενοήθη, καὶ τὴν γενομένην ποτὲ περὶ Θερμοπύλας ἀνδρείαν τοῦ
5 βασιλέως Λεωνίδου φιλοτίμως ἐμιμήσατο. διαλέξας γὰρ τοὺς νέους, τούτους μὲν ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην χρησίμους ἐσομένους[2] τῇ κινδυνευούσῃ περὶ τῶν ὅλων· αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων φυλάττων τὴν τάξιν καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελὼν τῶν πολεμίων, κυκλωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων μετὰ
6 πάντων ἀνῃρέθη. Ἠλεῖοι δὲ τὴν τετάρτην μοῖραν ἔχοντες, καὶ κατ' ἄλλους τόπους πεπταμένους διελθόντες, εἰς τὴν Σελλασίαν παρεγένοντο· εἰς τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν τόπον πᾶσι καταντᾶν παρήγγελτο. ἀθροισθείσης δὲ ἁπάσης τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Σελλασίαν, προῆγον ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν Σπάρτην πορθοῦντες ἅμα καὶ πυρπολοῦντες τὴν χώραν.

65. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πεντακόσια ἔτη τὴν Λακωνικὴν τετηρηκότες ἀπόρθητον, τότε θεωροῦν-

set to guard the pass, slew its leader Alexander the Spartan and about two hundred of the rest, amongst whom were the Boeotian refugees. The third contingent, composed of the Arcadians and containing the largest number, invaded the district called Sciritis,[1] which had a large garrison under Ischolas, a man of conspicuous valour and shrewdness. Himself one of the most distinguished soldiers, he accomplished an heroic and memorable deed. For, seeing that, because of the overwhelming number of the enemy, all who joined battle with them would be killed, he decided that while it was not in keeping with Spartan dignity to abandon his post in the pass, yet it would be useful to his country to preserve the men. He therefore in an amazing manner provided for both objects and emulated the courageous exploit of King Leonidas at Thermopylae.[2] For he picked out the young men and sent them back to Sparta to be of service to her in her hour of deadly peril. He himself, keeping his post with the older men, slew many of the enemy, but finally, encircled by the Arcadians, perished with all his corps. The Eleians, who formed the fourth contingent, marching by other unguarded regions, reached Sellasia, for this was the locality designated to all as the rendezvous. When all the army had gathered in Sellasia, they advanced upon Sparta itself, sacking and burning the countryside. 369/8 B.C.

65. Now the Lacedaemonians, who for five hundred years had preserved Laconia undevastated, could not

[1] A high mountainous district in the north of Laconia on the road leading from Sparta to Tegea.

[2] The historic occasion, 480 B.C., when Leonidas sent home all but three hundred Spartans, whom he kept to hold up Xerxes' advance. See Book 11. 11.

[1] διὸ added by Bekker. [2] ἐσομένους Post: ἔσεσθαι.

τες δηουμένην ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων οὐκ ἐκαρτέρουν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς θυμοῖς προπίπτοντες[1] ἐξεπήδων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· κωλυόμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων προϊέναι μακρότερον ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος, μή τις ἐπίθηται, ἐπείσθησαν τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ τῇ
2 πόλει παρέχεσθαι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν διὰ τοῦ Ταϋγέτου καταβαινόντων ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐρώταν, καὶ διαβαινόντων τὸν ποταμὸν σφοδρὸν ὄντα τῷ ῥεύματι κατὰ τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥραν, ὁρῶντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τεταραγμένην τὴν δύναμιν τῶν ἐναντίων διὰ τὴν χαλεπότητα τῆς διαβάσεως, καιρὸν ἔλαβον εὔθετον πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν, καὶ τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς γεγηρακότας, ἀπέλιπον ἐν τῇ πόλει φυλάττοντας τὴν Σπάρτην, αὐτοὶ δὲ πανδημεὶ συντάξαντες τοὺς νέους ἐξεχύθησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ προσπεσόντες ἄφνω τοῖς διαβαίνουσι πολὺν
3 ἐποιοῦντο[2] φόνον. ἀμυνομένων δὲ τῶν Βοιωτῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, καὶ τῷ πλήθει κυκλούντων τοὺς ἐναντίους, οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται πολλοὺς ἀνῃρηκότες ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, φανερῶς ἐνδεδειγμένοι
4 τὰς ἰδίας ἀνδραγαθίας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει καταπληκτικῶς προσβαλλόντων[3] τῇ πόλει, οἱ μὲν Σπαρτιᾶται συνεργὸν ἔχοντες τὴν τῶν τόπων ὀχυρότητα, πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν τῶν προπετῶς βιαζομένων, τέλος δ' οἱ πολιορκοῦντες πᾶσαν εἰσενεγκάμενοι σπουδὴν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπείκαζον βίᾳ χειρώσασθαι[4] τὴν Σπάρτην· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν βιαζομένων οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνῃσκον, οἱ δ' ἐτραυματίζοντο, ἀνεκαλέσαντο τῇ σάλπιγγι τοὺς στρατιώτας οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἐπ-

[1] προπίπτοντες Wesseling: προσπίπτοντες.

then bear to see it being sacked by the enemy, but 369/8 B.C.
hot-headedly were ready to rush forth from the city; but being restrained by the elders from advancing too far from their native land, lest some one attack it, they were finally prevailed upon to wait quietly and keep the city safe. Now Epameinondas descended through the Taÿgetus[1] into the Eurotas valley and was engaged in crossing the river, whose current was swift since it was the winter season, when the Lacedaemonians, seeing their opponents' army thrown into confusion by the difficulty of the crossing, seized the opportunity favourable for attack. Leaving the women, children, and the old men as well in the city to guard Sparta, they marshalled in full force the men of military age, streamed forth against the enemy, fell upon them suddenly as they crossed, and wrought heavy slaughter. But as the Boeotians and Arcadians fought back and began to encircle the enemy with their superior numbers, the Spartans, having slain many, withdrew to the city, for they had clearly displayed their own courage. Following this, as Epameinondas in full force made a formidable assault on the city, the Spartans with the aid of their strong natural defences slew many of those who pressed rashly forward, but finally the besiegers applied great pressure and thought at first they had overcome Sparta by force; but as those who tried to force their way were some slain, some wounded, Epameinondas recalled the soldiers with the trumpet, but the men of their

[1] Mountain range immediately above Sparta bordering the Eurotas River.

[2] ἐποιοῦντο] ἐποίουν Dindorf, Vogel.
[3] προσβαλλόντων P, Vogel: προσβαλόντων Vulgate, Dindorf, Bekker. [4] χειρώσασθαι] χειρώσεσθαι Dindorf.

ἀμεινώνδαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ προσελθόντες τῇ πόλει προεκαλοῦντο τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας εἰς παράταξιν, ἢ ξυνομολογεῖσθαι προσέταττον ἥττους εἶναι τῶν πολεμίων. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὅτι καιρὸν λαβόντες εὔθετον διαγωνιοῦνται περὶ τῶν ὅλων, ἀπηλλάγησαν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως. πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν Λακωνικὴν δῃώσαντες, καὶ λαφύρων ἀναρίθμητον πλῆθος ἀθροίσαντες, ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν.

6 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' Ἀθηναῖοι μέν, ὑστερηκότες τῶν καιρῶν, ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν οὐδὲν πράξαντες μνήμης ἄξιον, τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἧκον βοηθήσοντες στρατιῶται τετρακισχίλιοι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις προσθέντες τοὺς Εἵλωτας ἠλευθερωμένους προσφάτως χιλίους καὶ τῶν Βοιωτῶν φυγάδων διακοσίους, ἔτι δ' ἐκ[1] τῶν σύνεγγυς πόλεων οὐκ ὀλίγους μεταπεμψάμενοι, κατεσκεύαζον δύναμιν ἀντίπαλον τοῖς πολεμίοις. ταύτην δ' ἀθρόαν συνέχοντες καὶ γυμνάζοντες αἰεὶ μᾶλλον ἐθάρρουν καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ἀγῶνα.

66. Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ φύσει μεγαλεπίβολος ὢν καὶ δόξης ὀρεγόμενος αἰωνίου, συνεβούλευε τοῖς τε Ἀρκάσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις οἰκίσαι τὴν Μεσσήνην, πολλὰ μὲν ἔτη γεγενημένην ἀνάστατον ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, τόπον δ' εὔθετον ἔχουσαν κατὰ τῆς Σπάρτης. συγκατατιθεμένων δὲ πάντων ἀνεζήτησε τοὺς ἀπολελειμμένους[2] τῶν Μεσσηνίων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς βουλομένους καταλέξας εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν ἀνέκτισε[3] τὴν Μεσσήνην, πολλοὺς ποιήσας αὐτῆς οἰκήτορας. τούτοις δὲ κατακληρουχήσας

[1] δ' ἐκ Dindorf: δὲ. [2] ὑπολελειμμένους FK, Dindorf.

own accord would approach the city, and would chal- 369/8 B.C.
lenge the Spartans to a pitched battle, bidding them otherwise admit their inferiority to the enemy. When the Spartans replied to the effect that when they found a suitable occasion they would stake everything on one battle, they departed from the city. And when they had devastated all Laconia and amassed countless spoils, they withdrew to Arcadia.

Thereupon the Athenians,[1] who had arrived on the scene too late for action, returned to Attica without accomplishing anything of note ; but others of their allies, to the number of four thousand men, came to reinforce the Lacedaemonians. Besides these they attached to their numbers the Helots who had been newly emancipated, a thousand, and two hundred of the Boeotian fugitives, and summoned no small number from the neighbouring cities, so that they created an army comparable to that of the enemy. As they maintained these in one body and trained them, they gained more and more confidence and made themselves ready for the decisive contest.

66. Now Epameinondas, whose nature it was to aim at great enterprises and to crave everlasting fame, counselled the Arcadians and his other allies to resettle Messenê, which for many years had remained stripped of its inhabitants by the Lacedaemonians, for it occupied a position well suited for operations against Sparta. When they all concurred, he sought out the remnants of the Messenians, and registering as citizens any others who so wished he founded Messenê again, making it a populous city. Among them

[1] See chap. 63. 2. Xenophon places the request for help from Athens after the attack on Sparta (*Hell.* 6. 5. 33-52).

[3] ἀνέκτισε Capps : ἔκτισε.

τὴν χώραν καὶ[1] ἀνοικοδομήσας[2] ἀνέσωσε πόλιν ἐπίσημον Ἑλληνίδα καὶ μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἔτυχε παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις.

2 Οὐκ ἀνοίκειον δ' εἶναι νομίζω, πολλάκις τῆς Μεσσήνης ἁλούσης καὶ κατασκαφείσης, τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίοις παραδραμεῖν. τὸ μὲν οὖν παλαιὸν οἱ ἀπὸ Νηλέως καὶ Νέστορος κατέσχον αὐτὴν μέχρι τῶν Τρωικῶν χρόνων, μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ[3] Ἀγαμέμνονος Ὀρέστης καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τούτου μέχρι τῆς καθόδου τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης Κρεσφόντης ἔλαχε τὴν Μεσσηνίαν μερίδα, καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τούτου μέχρι τινὸς ἐβασίλευσαν αὐτῆς· ὕστερον δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ Κρεσφόντου τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποβαλόντων Λακεδαιμόνιοι κύριοι κατέστη-
3 σαν αὐτῆς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τηλέκλου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποθανόντος ἐν ἀγῶνι κατεπολεμήθησαν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ Μεσσήνιοι. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν πόλεμον εἰκοσαετῆ φασι γενέσθαι, κατομοσαμένων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων μὴ ἀνακάμψειν[4] εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην, ἐὰν μὴ Μεσσήνην ἕλωσιν. τότε δὲ[5] συνέβη τοὺς παρθενίας ὀνομασθέντας γεννηθῆναι καὶ κτίσαι τὴν τῶν Ταραντίνων πόλιν.

[1] *τὴν χώραν καὶ* Dindorf, Bekker: *καὶ τὴν χώραν* MSS., Wurm, Vogel.
[2] *ἀνοικοδομήσας* deleted by Wurm, Vogel.
[3] *ταῦθ' ὁ* Dindorf: *ταῦθ'* PA, *ταῦτ'* *cet.*
[4] So Dindorf, Vogel: *ἀνακάμψαι* MSS., Bekker.
[5] *δὲ* Dindorf with MSS. except PAFK, Vogel omits.

[1] See Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 24. 5, *Agesilaüs*, 34. 1; Pausanias, 4. 26-27; 9. 14. 5; Isocrates, *Archidamus*, 28. Apparently Xenophon, the Spartophile, could not bring himself to mention the refounding of Messenê.
[2] A brief account of the early history of Messenê and

he divided the land, and reconstructing its buildings restored a notable Greek city and gained the widespread approbation of all men.[1] 369/8 B.C.

Here I think it not unsuitable, since Messenê has so often been captured and razed, to recapitulate its history[2] from the beginning. In ancient times the line of Neleus and Nestor[3] held it down to Trojan times; then Orestes, Agamemnon's son, and his descendants down to the return of the Heracleidae[4]; following which Cresphontes[5] received Messenê as his portion and his line ruled it for a time; but later when Cresphontes' descendants had lost the kingship, the Lacedaemonians became masters of it. After this, at the death of the Lacedaemonian king Teleclus,[6] the Messenians were defeated in a war by the Lacedaemonians. This war is said to have lasted twenty years, for the Lacedaemonians had taken an oath not to return to Sparta unless they should have captured Messenê. Then it was that the children called partheniae[7] were born and founded the city of Tarentum.

Sparta is to be found in Holm, *The History of Greece*, 1. 193-201. See also Wade-Gery, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 3. 537-539, 548, 557-560.
[3] Chieftains of Pylos on the coast. Cp. Book 4. 68. 6; and Pausanias, 4. 3. 1.
[4] The so-called children of Heracles who formed the second wave of Dorian invasion in the Peloponnese (cp. Book 4. 57 f.).
[5] A Heraclid who favoured the early inhabitants of Messenê and was slain by the Dorians. He was introduced with his son Aepytus as a hero by Epameinondas according to Pausanias, 4. 27. 6. See Strabo, 8. 4. 7.
[6] A king of the Agid line. First Messenian War, 743–723 B.C. See Pausanias, 3. 2. 6; 4. 4. 2, 31. 3 and Strabo, 6. 3. 3.
[7] From the union of Spartan "maidens" (hence *παρθένιαι*) with men left behind at Sparta while the bulk of the Spartiatae were fighting in Messenê. They settled Tarentum 708 B.C. See Strabo, *l.c.* 3-4.

ὕστερον δὲ δουλευόντων Μεσσηνίων τοῖς Λακε-
δαιμονίοις, Ἀριστομένης ἔπεισε τοὺς Μεσσηνίους
ἀποστῆναι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ
διειργάσατο τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ὅτε καὶ Τυρταῖος ὁ
ποιητὴς ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἡγεμὼν ἐδόθη τοῖς Σπαρ-
4 τιάταις. ἔνιοι δὲ τὸν Ἀριστομένη γεγονέναι φασὶ
κατὰ τὸν εἰκοσαετῆ πόλεμον. ὁ δ' ὕστατος ἐγένετο
πόλεμος αὐτοῖς σεισμοῦ μεγάλου γενομένου· καὶ
τῆς μὲν Σπάρτης ὅλης σχεδὸν συγχυθείσης ἀνδρῶν
δ' ἐρήμου γενομένης, οἱ Μεσσηνίων περιλειφθέντες
ᾤκισαν τὴν Ἰθώμην μετὰ τῶν συναποστάντων[1]
Εἱλώτων, ἀναστάτου γεγενημένης τῆς Μεσσήνης
5 πολλοὺς χρόνους. ἀτυχήσαντες δ' ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς
πολέμοις, τὸ τελευταῖον ἀνάστατοι γενόμενοι κατ-
ῴκησαν ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ, δόντων αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίων
οἰκητήριον τήνδε τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν
εἰς Κεφαλληνίαν ἐξέπεσον, τινὲς δ' ἐν Σικελίᾳ
Μεσσήνην τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνων ὀνομασθεῖσαν κατ-
6 ῴκησαν. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον κατὰ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους
καιροὺς Θηβαῖοι, πείσαντος αὐτοὺς Ἐπαμεινώνδου
καὶ πανταχόθεν συναγαγόντος τοὺς Μεσσηνίους,
ᾤκισαν τὴν Μεσσήνην καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν αὐτοῖς
χώραν ἀποκατέστησαν.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τὴν Μεσσήνην τοσαύτας καὶ τηλι-καύτας συνέβη γενέσθαι μεταβολάς.

[1] So Dindorf: συναποστατῶν.

[1] Messenian hero of the Second Messenian War, 685–668 B.C.

[2] Fragments of his marching songs and his poem on good government (Εὐνομία) are collected in Edmunds, *Elegy and Iambus*, 1. 58 ff., *L.C.L.* See Book 8. 27. 2. Schmid-Stählin, *Gr. Litt.-Gesch.* 1. 1. 358 ff., doubt if a poet came out of

Later, however, while the Messenians were in slavery 369/8 B.C.
to the Lacedaemonians, Aristomenes [1] persuaded the Messenians to revolt from the Spartans, and he inflicted many defeats upon the Spartans at the time when the poet Tyrtaeus [2] was given by the Athenians as a leader to Sparta. Some say that Aristomenes lived during the twenty-year war. The last war [3] between them was on the occasion of a great earthquake; practically all Sparta was destroyed and left bare of men, and the remnants of the Messenians settled Ithomê with the aid of the Helots who joined the revolt, after Messenê had for a long time been desolate. But when they were unsuccessful in all their wars and were finally driven from their homes, they settled in Naupactus,[4] a city which the Athenians had given them for an abode. Furthermore some of their number were exiled to Cephallenia, while others settled in Messana [5] in Sicily, which was named after them. Finally at the time under discussion the Thebans, at the instigation of Epameinondas, who gathered together the Messenians from all quarters, settled Messenê and restored their ancient land to them.

Such then were the many important vicissitudes of Messenian history.

Athens or Sparta at this period but think it quite possible that Tyrtaeus came from Miletus (cp. Suidas, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* Λάκων ἢ Μιλήσιος) along with other poets that came to Sparta from the more forward regions of Asia Minor and the islands. For other notices of his life see Edmunds, *ibid.* 50-58.

[3] 464–455 B.C. See Book 11. 63.

[4] Situated on a promontory on the north shore of the Gulf of Corinth; an important ally of Athens in the Peloponnesian War.

[5] Formerly Zanclê, settled by Siculians probably, later colonized by Chalcidians.

67. Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι πάντα τὰ προειρημένα συντελέσαντες ἐν ἡμέραις ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ πέντε, καὶ καταλιπόντες φυλακὴν ἀξιόλογον τῆς Μεσσήνης, ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ παραδόξως ἀποτετριμμένοι τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀπέστειλαν πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, καὶ τὰς μὲν ὁμολογίας ἐποιήσαντο περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ὥστε τῆς μὲν θαλάττης ἄρχειν Ἀθηναίους, τῆς δὲ γῆς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς
2 πόλεσιν[1] ἐποιήσαντο κοινὰς τὰς ἡγεμονίας. Ἀρκάδες δὲ Λυκομήδην στρατηγὸν προχειρισάμενοι, καὶ παραδόντες αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους ὀνομαζομένους, ὄντας πεντακισχιλίους, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Πελλήνην[2] τῆς Λακωνικῆς, καὶ τὴν μὲν[3] πόλιν βίᾳ χειρωσάμενοι τοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας[4] φρουροὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπέκτειναν, ὄντας πλείους τῶν τριακοσίων, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐξανδραποδισάμενοι καὶ τὴν χώραν δῃώσαντες ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, φθάσαντες τὴν παρὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βοήθειαν.
3 Βοιωτοὶ δέ, μεταπεμπομένων αὐτοὺς Θετταλῶν ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει μὲν τῶν πόλεων καταλύσει δὲ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φεραίου τυραννίδος, ἐξαπέστειλαν Πελοπίδαν μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς Θετταλίαν, δόντες ἐντολὰς αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ συμφέρον τῶν Βοιωτῶν δι-
4 οικῆσαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Θετταλίαν. οὗτος[5] δὲ καταντήσας εἰς Λάρισσαν, καὶ καταλαβὼν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν

[1] ταῖς πόλεσιν] deleted by Vogel but his reference (Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 1. 14) is indecisive.
[2] Πελλήνην Palmer: Παλλίνην P, Παλλήνην Vulgate.
[3] μὲν] placed after τοὺς by Dindorf.

67. The Thebans, having accomplished in eighty-five days[1] all that is narrated above, and having left a considerable garrison for Messenê, returned to their own land. The Lacedaemonians, who had unexpectedly got rid of their enemies, sent to Athens a commission of the most distinguished Spartans, and came to an agreement over the supremacy: the Athenians should be masters of the sea, the Lacedaemonians of the land; but after this in both cities they set up a joint command.[2] The Arcadians now appointed Lycomedes their general, gave him the corps they called their élite,[3] five thousand in number, and took the field against Pellenê[4] in Laconia. Having taken the city by force, they slew the Lacedaemonians who had been left behind there as a garrison, over three hundred men, enslaved the city, devastated the countryside, and returned home before assistance came from the Lacedaemonians. The Boeotians, summoned by the Thessalians to liberate their cities and to overthrow the tyranny of Alexander of Pherae, dispatched Pelopidas with an army to Thessaly,[5] after giving him instructions to arrange Thessalian affairs in the interests of the Boeotians. Having arrived in Larissa and found the acropolis garrisoned by Alex- 369/8 B.C.

[1] Three months in Plutarch, *Agesilaüs*, 32. 8.
[2] Xenophon says (*Hell.* 7. 1. 14) that they each exercised alternate command of sea and land forces for periods of five days. See chap. 38. 4.
[3] See chap. 62. 2.
[4] Pellana in the Laconian dialect. Situated on the Eurotas River on the road from Sparta to Arcadia. See Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 2. 2.
[5] See Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 26.

[4] So MSS. except F²J which have ἐγκαταληφθέντας.
[5] So Schäfer: αὐτός.

φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος, ταύτην μὲν παρέλαβεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Μακεδονίαν παρελθὼν καὶ συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενος πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα, ὅμηρον ἔλαβε παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Φίλιππον, ὃν ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς τὰς Θήβας. τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Θετταλίαν διοικησάμενος ὥς ποτ' ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ συμφέρειν τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς, ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν.

68. Τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἠλεῖοι συμφρονήσαντες ἔγνωσαν στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ πρεσβεύσαντες πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς ἔπεισαν αὐτοὺς κοινωνεῖν τοῦ πολέμου· οἱ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδαν καταστήσαντες ἡγεμόνα μετ' ἄλλων βοιωταρχῶν, ἐξέπεμψαν στρατιώτας πεζοὺς μὲν ἑπτακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δ' ἑξακοσίους. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πυθόμενοι τὴν Βοιωτῶν στρατιὰν παριοῦσαν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἐξέπεμψαν δύ-
2 ναμιν καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Χαβρίαν. οὗτος δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς Κόρινθον, καὶ προσλαβόμενος καὶ παρὰ Μεγαρέων καὶ Πελληνέων, ἔτι δὲ Κορινθίων στρατιώτας, στρατόπεδον συνεστήσατο ἀνδρῶν μυρίων· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων παραγενομένων εἰς Κόρινθον συνήχθησαν
3 οἱ σύμπαντες οὐκ ἐλάττους δισμυρίων. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ὀχυρώσασθαι τὰς παρόδους καὶ διακωλύειν τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον εἰσβολῆς. ἀρξάμενοι δ' ἀπὸ Κεγχρεῶν μέχρι Λεχαίου σταυ-

[1] See chap. 61. 4, 5.

[2] For a different account concerning Philip see Book 16. 2. 2. Cary, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 86, disagrees with both passages in Diodorus. See Aeschines, *On the Embassy*, 28.

ander of Macedon,[1] he obtained its surrender. 369/8 B.C.
Then proceeding into Macedon, where he made an alliance with Alexander the Macedonian king, he took from him as a hostage his brother Philip, whom he sent to Thebes.[2] When he had settled Thessalian affairs as he thought fit in the interest of the Boeotians, he returned home.

68. After these events, Arcadians, Argives, and Eleians, making common cause, decided to take the field against the Lacedaemonians, and having sent a commission to the Boeotians prevailed on them to join in the war. They appointed Epameinondas commander[3] along with other boeotarchs and dispatched seven thousand foot and six hundred horse. The Athenians, hearing that the Boeotian army was about to pass into the Peloponnese, dispatched an army and Chabrias as general against them. He arrived in Corinth, added to his number Megarians,[4] Pellenians,[5] and also Corinthians, and so gathered a force of ten thousand men. Later, when the Lacedaemonians and other allies arrived at Corinth, there were assembled no less than twenty thousand men all told. They decided to fortify the approaches and prevent the Boeotians from invading the Peloponnese. From Cenchreae[6] to Lechaeum they fenced off the area

[3] An account of this expedition is in Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 1. 15-22. See also Pausanias, 9. 15. 4.

[4] According to Isocrates (*On the Peace*, 118), Megara remained neutral. It is obvious here that she afforded passage to both parties.

[5] Pellenê was the easternmost town of Achaïa, slightly north-west of Sicyon and Corinth.

[6] The line from Cenchreae (on the Saronic Gulf) to Lechaeum (on the Corinthian Gulf) crossed the neck of the isthmus close to the Peloponnese and just included the city of Corinth. Mentioned in Book 11. 16. 3.

ρώμασι καὶ βαθείαις τάφροις διελάμβανον τὸν τόπον· ταχὺ δὲ τῶν ἔργων συντελουμένων διά τε τὴν πολυχειρίαν καὶ τὰς προθυμίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἔφθασαν τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς πάντα[1] τόπον ὀχυρώσαντες.

4 ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἥκων μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπεσκέψατο, καὶ κατανοήσας εὐεφοδώτατον εἶναι τόπον καθ' ὃν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι παρεφύλαττον, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον προεκαλεῖτο τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς παράταξιν, σχεδὸν τριπλασίους ὄντας τοῖς πλήθεσιν, οὐδενὸς δὲ τολμῶντος ἐκτὸς τοῦ τειχίσματος προελθεῖν,[2] ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ χαρακώματος ἀμυνομένων

5 ἁπάντων, προσῆγε τὴν βίαν τοῖς πολεμίοις. κατὰ πάντα μὲν οὖν τὸν τόπον ἐγίνοντο προσβολαὶ καρτεραί, μάλιστα δὲ κατὰ Λακεδαιμονίους, εὐεφόδων ὄντων καὶ δυσφυλάκτων τῶν τόπων. μεγάλης δὲ φιλοτιμίας γενομένης παρ' ἀμφοτέροις, Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν Θηβαίων μόγις ἐβιάσατο τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους· διακόψας δὲ τὴν φυλακὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν διαγαγὼν παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, διαπραξάμενος ἔργον οὐδὲν τῶν προκατειργασμένων καταδεέστερον.

69. Εὐθὺ δὲ ἐπὶ Τροιζῆνα καὶ Ἐπίδαυρον πορευθεὶς τὴν μὲν χώραν ἐδῄωσε, τῶν δὲ πόλεων οὐκ ἐδυνήθη κρατῆσαι διὰ τὸ φρουρὰς ἔχειν ἀξιολόγους, Σικυῶνα δὲ καὶ Φλιοῦντα[3] καί τινας ἄλλας[4] πόλεις καταπληξάμενος προσηγάγετο. στρατεύσας δ' ἐπὶ Κόρινθον, καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων ἐπεξελθόντων νικήσας μάχῃ, τούτους μὲν ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν συν-

[1] πάντα] πάντα τὸν Dindorf.
[2] So Vogel, following P: παρελθεῖν.
[3] Φαιοῦντα MSS. corrected by Palmer.
[4] ἄλλας added by Dindorf (cp. chaps. 71. 4 and 75. 2).

with palisades and deep trenches, and since the task was quickly completed owing to the large number of men and their enthusiasm, they had every spot fortified before the Boeotians arrived. Epameinondas came with his army, inspected the fortifications, and, perceiving that there was a spot very easy of access where the Lacedaemonians were on guard, first challenged the enemy to come forth to a pitched battle, though they were almost three times his number, then when not a man dared to advance beyond the fortified line, but all remained on the defensive in their palisaded camp, he launched a violent attack upon them. Accordingly, throughout the whole area heavy assaults were made, but particularly against the Lacedaemonians, for their terrain was easily assailed and difficult to defend. Great rivalry arose between the two armies, and Epameinondas, who had with him the bravest of the Thebans, with great effort forced back the Lacedaemonians, and, cutting through their defence and bringing his army through, passed into the Peloponnese, thereby accomplishing a feat no whit inferior to his former mighty deeds. 369/8 B.C.

69. Having proceeded straightway to Troezên and Epidaurus, he ravaged the countryside but could not seize the cities, for they had garrisons of considerable strength, yet Sicyon,[1] Phlius,[2] and certain other cities he so intimidated as to bring them over to his side. When he invaded Corinth, and the Corinthians sallied forth to meet him, he defeated them in battle, and drove them all back inside their walls, but when the

[1] Fighting for Sicyon is indicated in Polyaenus, 5. 16. 3 and Pausanias, 6. 3. 3. That the Boeotians obtained it is stated in Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 2. 11; 3. 2, 4.
[2] According to Xenophon, *ibid.* 2. 5-9, Phlius remained true to Sparta.

ἐδίωξε, τῶν δὲ Βοιωτῶν διὰ τὴν εὐημερίαν μετεωρισθέντων, καὶ τινων προχείρως τολμησάντων διὰ τῆς πύλης εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσβιάζεσθαι, οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι δείσαντες ἐτράπησαν εἰς τὰς οἰκίας, Χαβρίας δ' ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς ἐμφρόνως ἅμα καὶ τεθαρρηκότως ὑποστὰς τοὺς μὲν ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν Βοιωτῶν κατ-
2 έβαλεν. γενομένης δὲ φιλοτιμίας, οἱ μὲν Βοιωτοὶ
πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν συντάξαντες ἐπῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν
Κόρινθον καταπληκτικῶς, ὁ δὲ Χαβρίας ἀναλαβὼν
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους προῆγεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ καταλαβόμενος τοὺς ὑπερδεξίους τόπους ὑπέστη τὴν
3 τῶν πολεμίων ἔφοδον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Βοιωτοί, πεποιθότες ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων ῥώμαις καὶ ταῖς ἐν τοῖς συνεχέσι πολέμοις ἐμπειρίαις, τῇ βίᾳ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἤλπιζον χειρώσασθαι,[1] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Χαβρίαν ἐκ τόπων ὑπερδεξίων ἀγωνιζόμενοι, καὶ πολλῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως χορηγουμένων, οὓς μὲν ἀνῄρουν τῶν βιαζομένων, τοὺς δὲ κατετίτρωσκον.
4 οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοί, πολλὰ μὲν κακοπαθήσαντες, οὐδὲν
δὲ πρᾶξαι δυνάμενοι, τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐποιήσαντο. Χαβρίας μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ στρατηγικῇ συνέσει[2] θαυμασθεὶς τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀπετρίψατο τοὺς πολεμίους.

70. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Σικελίας Κελτοὶ καὶ Ἴβηρες δισχίλιοι κατέπλευσαν εἰς Κόρινθον, ἐκπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου συμμαχῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίοις, εἰς μῆνας πέντε τοὺς μισθοὺς εἰληφότες. οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες πεῖραν αὐτῶν βουλόμενοι λαβεῖν προῆγον αὐτούς, καὶ κατὰ τὰς συμπλοκὰς καὶ μάχας ἀνδραγαθούντων αὐτῶν πολλοί τε τῶν Βοιωτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνῃροῦντο.

Boeotians were so elated by their success that some of them rashly ventured to force their way through the gates into the city, the Corinthians, frightened, took refuge in their houses, but Chabrias the Athenian general made an intelligent and determined resistance, and succeeded in driving the Boeotians out of the city, having also struck down many of them. In the rivalry which followed, the Boeotians gathered all their army in line of battle and directed a formidable blow at Corinth; but Chabrias with the Athenians advanced out of the city, took his station on superior terrain and withstood the attack of the enemy. The Boeotians, however, relying upon the hardihood of their bodies and their experience in continuous warfare, expected to worst the Athenians by sheer might, but Chabrias' corps, having the advantage of superior ground in the struggle and of abundant supplies from the city, slew some of the attackers and severely wounded others. The Boeotians, having suffered many losses and being unable to accomplish anything, beat a retreat. So Chabrias won great admiration for his courage and shrewdness as a general and got rid of the enemy in this fashion. 369/8 B.C.

70. From Sicily, Celts and Iberians to the number of two thousand sailed to Corinth, for they had been sent by the tyrant Dionysius to fight in alliance with the Lacedaemonians, and had received pay for five months. The Greeks, in order to make trial of them, led them forth; and they proved their worth in hand-to-hand fighting and in battles and many both of the Boeotians and of their allies were slain by them.

[1] χειρώσασθαι] χειρώσεσθαι Dindorf.
[2] So P, Faber: δυνάμει.

διόπερ δόξαντες εὐχειρίᾳ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ διαφέρειν καὶ πολλὰς χρείας παρασχόμενοι, καὶ τιμηθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦ θέρους λήγοντος ἐξαπ-
2 εστάλησαν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Φιλίσκος μὲν ὑπ' Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποσταλεὶς κατέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, παρακαλῶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας διαλύσασθαι μὲν τοὺς πολέμους, εἰρήνην δὲ κοινὴν συνθέσθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πάντες ἀσμένως ὑπήκουσαν, Θηβαῖοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπόστασιν ὅλην τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὑπὸ μίαν ἀγαγόντες[1] συντέλειαν οὐ προσεδέχθησαν. ἀπογνωσθείσης δὲ τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης, ὁ μὲν Φιλίσκος καταλιπὼν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις δισχιλίους ἐπιλέκτους μισθοφόρους ἔχοντας τοὺς μισθούς, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.

3 Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Εὔφρων ὁ Σικυώνιος, διαφέρων θράσει καὶ ἀπονοίᾳ, συνεργοὺς λαβὼν Ἀργείους ἐπέθετο τυραννίδι. κρατήσας δὲ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς τετταράκοντα τοὺς εὐπορωτάτους τῶν Σικυωνίων ἐφυγάδευσε, δημεύσας αὐτῶν τὰς οὐσίας, καὶ πολλῶν χρημάτων κυριεύσας μισθοφόρους ἤθροισε καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐδυνάστευσεν.

71. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Ναυσιγένους ἐν Ῥώμῃ χιλίαρχοι κατεστάθησαν ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων τέτταρες, Λεύκιος Παπίριος,[2] Λεύκιος Μενήνιος, Σερούιος Κορνήλιος, Σερούιος Σολπίκιος,[3] παρὰ δὲ Ἠλείοις ὀλυμπιὰς ἤχθη τρίτη πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Πυθόστρατος Ἀθηναῖος.

[1] So Vogel: ἄγοντες FJK. [2] Παπύριος Vulgate.
[3] Σουλπίκιος MSS. except PA.

Accordingly, having won repute for superior dexterity and courage and rendered many kinds of service, they were given awards by the Lacedaemonians and sent back home at the close of the summer to Sicily.[1] Following this, Philiscus, who was sent on this mission by King Artaxerxes, sailed to Greece to urge the Greeks to compose their strife and agree to a general peace. All but the Thebans responded willingly[2]; they, however, adhering to their own design, had brought all Boeotia into one confederation and were excluded from the agreement. Since the general peace was not agreed to, Philiscus left two thousand picked mercenaries, paid in advance, for the Lacedaemonians and then returned to Asia. 369/8 B.C.

While these things were going on, Euphron of Sicyon, a particularly rash and crack-brained individual, with accomplices from Argos, attempted to set up a tyranny.[3] Succeeding in his plan, he sent forty of the wealthiest Sicyonians into exile, first confiscating their property, and, when he had secured large sums thereby, he collected a mercenary force and became lord of the city.

71. When Nausigenes was archon at Athens, in 368/7 B.C. Rome four military tribunes with consular power were elected, Lucius Papirius, Lucius Menenius, Servius Cornelius, and Servius Sulpicius; and the Eleians celebrated the hundred third Olympiad, in which Pythostratus the Athenian won the stadium race.

[1] For the performance of these Celts and Iberians see Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 1. 20-22.

[2] See Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 1. 27. This peace move is dated in the spring of 368 (Cary, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 93).

[3] This is told in Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 1. 44-46 under the year 367. Diodorus is probably wrong as to the year (cp. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], 3. 2. 243).

ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ἀλωρίτης[1] ὁ Ἀμύντου
υἱὸς ἐδολοφόνησεν Ἀλέξανδρον[1] τὸν ἀδελφόν, καὶ
2 ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Μακεδονίας ἔτη τρία.[2] κατὰ δὲ
τὴν Βοιωτίαν Πελοπίδας ἐφάμιλλος ὢν τῷ Ἐπ-
αμεινώνδᾳ τῇ κατὰ πόλεμον δόξῃ, καὶ θεωρῶν
ἐκεῖνον τὰ περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον συμφερόντως
κατεσκευακότα τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς, ἔσπευδε τὰ ἐκτὸς
Πελοποννήσου δι' αὑτοῦ προσάγεσθαι τοῖς Θη-
βαίοις. παραλαβὼν δὲ Ἰσμηνίαν, ἄνδρα φίλον μὲν
ἑαυτοῦ θαυμαζόμενον δ' ἐπ' ἀρετῇ, παρῆλθεν εἰς
Θετταλίαν. καταντήσας δὲ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν
Φερῶν τύραννον, ἀλόγως συνελήφθη μετὰ Ἰσμηνίου
3 καὶ εἰς φυλακὴν παρεδόθη. Θηβαίων δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς
πραχθεῖσι παροξυνθέντων, καὶ ταχέως εἰς τὴν Θετ-
ταλίαν ἐκπεμψάντων ὁπλίτας μὲν ὀκτακισχιλίους
ἱππεῖς δ' ἑξακοσίους, φοβηθεὶς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐξέ-
πεμψε πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας περὶ συμμαχίας.
ᾧ παραχρῆμα ὁ δῆμος ἐξέπεμψε ναῦς μὲν τριά-
κοντα στρατιώτας δὲ χιλίους, ὧν ἦν στρατηγὸς
4 Αὐτοκλῆς. ἐν ὅσῳ δ' οὗτος περιέπλει τὴν Εὔβοιαν
Θηβαῖοι κατήντησαν εἰς Θετταλίαν. τοῦ δ' Ἀλεξ-
άνδρου πεζὴν δύναμιν ἠθροικότος καὶ ἱππεῖς πολλα-
πλασίους ἔχοντος τῶν Βοιωτῶν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
οἱ Βοιωτοὶ διὰ μάχης ἔκρινον λῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον,
συνεργοὺς ἔχοντες τοὺς Θετταλούς· ὡς δ' οὗτοι

[1] After Ἀλωρίτης Vogel deletes ὁ Ἀμύντου υἱὸς and after Ἀλέξανδρον the words τὸν ἀδελφόν as inconsistent with chaps. 60. 3, 77. 5 and Book 16. 2. 4. See explanatory note below.
[2] So Rhodoman: τριάκοντα (cp. chap. 77. 5).

[1] Ptolemy of Alorus was the husband of Eurynoë, daughter of Amyntas III and Eurydicê (Justin, 7. 4. 5, 7), hence the use of τὸν ἀδελφόν. He may well have been the son of *an* Amyntas since the name was common in Macedonia. After

During their term of office Ptolemy[1] of Alorus, son of Amyntas, assassinated Alexander, his brother-in-law, and was king of Macedon for three years. In Boeotia Pelopidas, whose military reputation rivalled that of Epameinondas, saw that the latter had arranged the Peloponnesian affairs to the advantage of the Boeotians, and was eager to be the instrument whereby districts outside of the Peloponnese were won for the Thebans. Taking along with him as his associate Ismenias, a friend of his, and a man who was admired for his valour, he entered Thessaly.[2] There he met Alexander, the tyrant of Pherae, but was suddenly arrested with Ismenias, and placed under guard. The Thebans, incensed at what had been done, dispatched with all speed eight thousand hoplites and six hundred cavalry into Thessaly, so frightening Alexander that he dispatched ambassadors to Athens for an alliance.[3] The Athenian people immediately sent him thirty ships and a thousand men under the command of Autocles. While Autocles was making the circuit of Euboea, the Thebans entered Thessaly. Though Alexander had gathered his infantry and had many times more horsemen than the Boeotians, at first the Boeotians decided to settle the war by battle, for they had the Thessalians as supporters; but when the latter 368/7 B.C.

Alexander's death he took the regency for Perdiccas (Aeschines, *On the Embassy*, 29) and married the Queen dowager Eurydicê (*sch. ibid.*; Justin, 7. 4. 7). If he was king, no coins were issued in his name. (See Beloch[2], 3. 2. 67.) See also Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 27; Marsyas in Athenaeus, *Deip.* 14. 629 d.

[2] For this venture see Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 27 ff.; Pausanias, 9. 15. 1-2; Nepos, *Pelopidas*, 5.

[3] For the alliance see Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 31. 4, *Apophthegmata Epaminondou*, 17 (193); Demosthenes, 23. 120; *IG*, 2[2]. 1. 116. 39 f.

μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐγκατέλιπον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καί τινες ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι παρεγένοντο τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τὰ δὲ σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ καὶ τἄλλα πάντα ἐπέλειπε[1] τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς, ἔγνωσαν οἱ βοιωτάρχαι τὴν εἰς οἶκον
5 ἐπάνοδον ποιεῖσθαι. ἀναζευξάντων δ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τῆς πορείας οὔσης διὰ χώρας πεδιάδος, Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπηκολούθει πολλοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας ἐπέθετο. τῶν δὲ Βοιωτῶν οἱ μὲν κατακοντιζόμενοι συνεχῶς ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δὲ τραύμασι περιέπιπτον, τέλος δ' οὔτε μένειν οὔτε προάγειν ἐώμενοι εἰς πολλὴν ἀμηχανίαν ἐνέπιπτον,[2]
6 ἅτε δὴ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανιζόντων. ἤδη δ' αὐτῶν τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀπογινωσκόντων, Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἰδιωτεύων κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατεστάθη στρατηγός. εὐθὺς δὲ[3] διαλέξας τούς τε ψιλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς, τούτους μὲν αὐτὸς ἀνέλαβε, καὶ ταχθεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας διὰ τούτων ἀνέστελλε τοὺς ἐπακολουθοῦντας πολεμίους καὶ πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν παρείχετο τοῖς προηγουμένοις ὁπλίταις, ποιούμενος δὲ μάχας ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς καὶ τάξει φιλοτέχνῳ χρώμενος
7 διέσωσε τὸ στρατόπεδον. αἰεὶ δὲ μᾶλλον διὰ τῶν κατορθωμάτων αὔξων τὴν ἰδίαν εὐδοξίαν μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἐτύγχανε παρά τε τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι τοὺς τότε βοιωταρχήσαντας καταδικάσαντες, πολλοῖς χρήμασιν ἐζημίωσαν.

72. Ἐπιζητουμένης δὲ τῆς αἰτίας πῶς ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ ἰδιώτης ὢν ἐστρατεύετο μετὰ τῶν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀποσταλέντων, ἀποδοτέον τὸν οἰκεῖον λόγον τῆς ἀπολογίας. τῇ μάχῃ τῇ περὶ Κόρινθον Ἐπαμεινώνδας διακόψας τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ προτειχίσματος

left them in the lurch and the Athenians and some 368/7 B.C.
other allies joined Alexander, and they found their provisions of food and drink and all their other supplies giving out, the boeotarchs decided to return home. When they had broken camp and were proceeding through level country, Alexander trailed them with a large body of cavalry and attacked their rear. A number of Boeotians perished under the continuous rain of darts, others fell wounded, until finally, being permitted neither to halt nor to proceed, they were reduced to utter helplessness, as was natural when they were also running short of provisions. When they had now abandoned hope, Epameinondas, who was at that time serving as a private soldier, was appointed general by the men. Quickly selecting the light-armed men and cavalry, he took them with him, and, posting himself in the rear, with their aid checked the enemy pursuers and provided complete security for the heavy-armed men in the front ranks; and by wheeling about and offering battle and using masterly formations he saved the army. By these repeated successes he more and more enhanced his own reputation and won the warm approbation of both his fellow citizens and allies. But the Thebans brought judgement against the boeotarchs of the day and punished them with a heavy fine.

72. When the reason is asked why a man of such parts was serving as a private soldier in the expedition that was sent to Thessaly, we must give his own plea in defence. In the battle at Corinth Epameinondas, having cut through the guard of the Lacedaemonians

[1] So Schäfer: ὑπελείπετο.
[2] So Hertlein: ἐξέπιπτον.
[3] So Vogel: τε.

φυλακὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ δυνάμενος πολ-
λοὺς ἀνελεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, ἠρκέσθη τῷ προτερή-
2 ματι καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖον[1] μάχης ἀπέστη. γενομένης
δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ἱκανῆς ὑποψίας ὡς πεφεισμένου τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων ἰδίας ἕνεκα χάριτος, οἱ φθονοῦντες
αὐτοῦ τῇ δόξῃ καιρὸν ἔλαβον εὐλόγου διαβολῆς.
ἐπενεγκάντων οὖν αὐτῷ προδοσίας ἔγκλημα, τὸ
πλῆθος παροξυνθὲν ἀπέστησεν αὐτὸν τῆς βοιω-
ταρχίας, καὶ ἰδιώτην ποιῆσαν[2] ἐξαπέστειλε μετὰ
τῶν ἄλλων. ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ[3] τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἐξ-
ήλειψε τὰς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ διαβολάς, τότε ὁ δῆμος
ἀποκατέστησεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν προγεγενημένην εὐ-
3 δοξίαν. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ χρόνον Λακεδαιμονίοις
πρὸς Ἀρκάδας ἐγένετο μεγάλη μάχη, ἐν ᾗ ἐνίκησαν
Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπιφανῶς. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐν Λεύκ-
τροις ἧτταν τοῦτο πρῶτον αὐτοῖς παράδοξον εὐ-
τύχημα ἐγένετο· ἔπεσον γὰρ Ἀρκάδων μὲν ὑπὲρ
τοὺς μυρίους, Λακεδαιμονίων δ' οὐδείς. προεῖπον
δ' αὐτοῖς αἱ Δωδωνίδες[4] ἱέρειαι διότι πόλεμος οὗτος
4 Λακεδαιμονίοις ἄδακρυς ἔσται. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην
οἱ Ἀρκάδες, φοβηθέντες τὰς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
εἰσβολάς, ἔκτισαν ἐπί τινος ἐπικαίρου τόπου τὴν
ὀνομαζομένην Μεγάλην πόλιν, συρρίψαντες εἰς αὐ-
τὴν κώμας εἴκοσι[5] τῶν ὀνομαζομένων Μαιναλίων
καὶ Παρρασίων Ἀρκάδων.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

[1] πλεῖον editors: πλείονα PAFJL.
[2] ποιῆσαν (*sic*) Wesseling: ποιήσας.
[3] ἀπὸ] διὰ Reiske. [4] So Wesseling: Δωδωνίας.
[5] εἴκοσι] μ' L (Pausanias, 8. 27. 3, 4), τετταράκοντα Dindorf, Bekker.

[1] For the "tearless battle" see Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 1. 28 32 and Plutarch, *Agesilaüs*, 33. 3 ff.

on the outwork, though he might have slain many of 368/7 B.C.
the enemy, was satisfied with his advantage and desisted from further combat. A serious suspicion arose that he had spared the Lacedaemonians as a personal favour, and those who were jealous of his fame found an opportunity for plausible charges against him. They accordingly brought a charge of treason against him, and the populace, incensed, removed him from the board of boeotarchs, made him a private soldier, and sent him out with the rest. When he had by his achievements wiped out the feeling against him, the people then restored him to his former position of high repute. Shortly after this the Lacedaemonians fought a great battle with the Arcadians and defeated them signally. Indeed since the defeat at Leuctra this was their first stroke of good fortune, and it was a surprising one; for over ten thousand Arcadians fell and not one Lacedaemonian.[1] The priestesses of Dodona[2] had foretold to them that this war would be a tearless one for the Lacedaemonians. After this battle the Arcadians, fearful of the invasions of the Lacedaemonians, founded in a favourable location the city called Great, Megalopolis, by combining to form it twenty[3] villages of the Arcadians known as Maenalians[4] and Parrhasians.

Such were the events in Greece at this time.

[2] Ancient oracle of Zeus in Epeirus.
[3] Pausanias (see critical notes) names forty villages. Cary, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 91-92, accepts Diodorus' figure but not his date. For the date of founding Pausanias, *ibid.* 27. 8, gives 371/0; the Parian Marble 370/69 or 369/8, while Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², 3. 1. 187, accepts Diodorus.
[4] Districts of southern Arcadia. In Maenalia was situated the new foundation, Megalopolis.

73. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν Διονύσιος ὁ τύραννος
ἔχων δυνάμεις ἀξιολόγους, καὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους
ὁρῶν οὐκ εὖ διακειμένους πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον διά τε
τὴν γεγενημένην παρ᾿ αὐτοῖς λοιμικὴν νόσον καὶ
τὴν ἀπόστασιν τῶν Λιβύων, ἔγνω στρατεύειν ἐπ᾿
αὐτούς. οὐκ ἔχων δὲ πρόφασιν ἀξιόλογον τῆς
διαφορᾶς, προσεποιήθη τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν
2 Φοίνικας ἐπιβεβηκέναι τῆς ὑπ᾿ αὐτὸν χώρας. παρα-
σκευασάμενος οὖν πεζοὺς μὲν τρισμυρίους, ἱππεῖς
δὲ τρισχιλίους, τριήρεις δὲ τριακοσίας καὶ τὴν
ἁρμόζουσαν τῇ δυνάμει ταύτῃ παρασκευήν, ἐν-
έβαλεν εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίους χώραν. καὶ
Σελινοῦντα μὲν καὶ Ἔντελλαν εὐθὺς προσηγάγετο,
καὶ τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν πορθήσας καὶ τῆς πόλεως
τῶν Ἐρυκίνων ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος ἐπολιόρκησε
Λιλύβαιον· πολλῶν δ᾿ ὄντων ἐν αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν
3 τὴν πολιορκίαν ἔλυσεν. ἀκούσας δὲ τὰ νεώρια τῶν
Καρχηδονίων ἐμπεπρῆσθαι, καὶ δόξας πάντα τὸν
στόλον αὐτῶν διεφθάρθαι κατεφρόνησε, καὶ τῶν
ἰδίων τριήρων ἑκατὸν μὲν καὶ τριάκοντα τὰς ἀρί-
στας ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὸν τῶν Ἐρυκίνων λιμένα,
τὰς δ᾿ ἄλλας ἁπάσας ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς τὰς Συρακού-
4 σας. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι παραδόξως διακοσίας ναῦς
πληρώσαντες ἐπέπλευσαν ταῖς ὁρμούσαις ἐν τῷ
λιμένι τῶν Ἐρυκίνων· ἀνελπίστου δὲ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως
γενομένης ἀπήγαγον τῶν τριήρων τὰς πλείστας.
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐνστάντος ἀνοχὰς
ποιησάμενοι διεχωρίσθησαν εἰς τὰς οἰκείας ἑκά-
5 τεροι[1] πόλεις. μετ᾿ ὀλίγον δὲ χρόνον Διονύσιος

[1] So Reiske: ἑκάτεραι.

73. In Sicily, Dionysius the tyrant having large 368/7 B.C.
armies, and perceiving that the Carthaginians were in no condition for war because of the plague which had raged in their midst[1] and the defection of the Libyans, decided to take the field against them. Not having a reasonable excuse for strife, he alleged that the Phoenicians in the empire of Carthage had violated the territory subject to him. He therefore got ready an armament of thirty thousand foot, three thousand horse, three hundred triremes and the supply train appropriate for that force, and invaded Carthaginian territory in Sicily. He immediately won Selinus and Entella, laid waste the whole countryside, and, having captured the city of Eryx, besieged Lilybaeum,[2] but there were so many soldiers in the place that he abandoned the siege. Hearing that the Carthaginians' dockyards had been burned and thinking their whole fleet had been destroyed, he conceived a contempt for them and dispatched only one hundred thirty of his best triremes to the harbour of Eryx, sending all the rest back to Syracuse. But the Carthaginians, having unexpectedly manned two hundred ships, sailed against the fleet at anchor in the harbour of Eryx, and, as the attack was unforeseen, they made off with most of the triremes. Later when winter had set in, the two states agreed to an armistice and separated, each going to its own cities. A little later

[1] For previous Sicilian passages see chaps. 6-7, 13, 14, 15-17, 24 (plague and revolt). For a discussion of this Third Carthaginian War see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], 2. 2. 375 and Bury, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 131.

[2] Selinus is on the south coast of Sicily near the west end, Entella is inland from it, while Eryx is in the extreme northwest corner, the modern harbour of which is Trapani, and Lilybaeum is to the south on the coast.

εἰς ἀρρωστίαν ἐμπεσὼν ἐτελεύτησε, δυναστεύσας
ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ· τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος
ὁ υἱὸς Διονύσιος ἐτυράννευσεν ἔτη δώδεκα.

74. Οὐκ ἀνοίκειον δ' ἐστὶ τῆς ὑποκειμένης ἱστο-
ρίας διελθεῖν τάς τε αἰτίας τῆς τελευτῆς καὶ τὰ
συμβάντα τούτῳ τῷ δυνάστῃ περὶ τὴν τοῦ βίου
καταστροφήν.[1] Διονυσίου τοίνυν δεδιδαχότος Ἀθή-
νησι Ληναίοις τραγῳδίαν καὶ νικήσαντος, τῶν ἐν
τῷ χορῷ τις ᾀδόντων[2] ὑπολαβὼν τιμηθήσεσθαι
λαμπρῶς ἐὰν πρῶτος ἀπαγγείλῃ τὴν νίκην, δι-
έπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον. καταλαβὼν δ' ἐκεῖ
ναῦν ἐκπλέουσαν εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ μετεμβὰς[3] εἰς
ταύτην, οὐρίοις ἐχρήσατο πνεύμασι, καὶ κατα-
πλεύσας εἰς Συρακούσας συντόμως ἀπήγγειλε τῷ
2 τυράννῳ τὴν νίκην. ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος τοῦτον μὲν
ἐτίμησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ περιχαρὴς ἐγένετο καὶ τοῖς
θεαῖς εὐαγγέλια θύσας πότους καὶ μεγάλας εὐωχίας
ἐπετέλεσεν. ἑστιῶν δὲ λαμπρῶς τοὺς φίλους, καὶ
κατὰ τοὺς πότους φιλοτιμότερον τῇ μέθῃ δοὺς
ἑαυτόν, εἰς ἀρρωστίαν σφοδροτέραν ἐνέπεσε διὰ
3 τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐμφορηθέντων ὑγρῶν. ἔχων δὲ
παρὰ θεῶν λόγιον τότε[4] τελευτήσειν ὅταν τῶν
κρειττόνων περιγένηται, τὸν χρησμὸν ἀνέφερεν ἐπὶ
τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, ὑπολαμβάνων τούτους κρείτ-
τους ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι. διὸ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς πλεονάκις

[1] *τὴν τ. β. καταστροφήν* Reiske : *τῆς τ. β. καταστροφῆς.*
[2] *ᾀδόντων* Reiske, Vogel : *ᾆδων.*
[3] *μεταβὰς* AJKL.
[4] *τότε* JL : *τὸ cet.*

[1] The "Wine Press Festival" of January or February at which both comedies and tragedies were presented. By unanimous consent (see Niese, P.-W. *Realencyclopädie*, 5. 901 top for references) the poetry of Dionysius was wretched

Dionysius fell sick and died, after ruling as overlord for thirty-eight years. His son Dionysius succeeded and ruled as tyrant twelve years. 368/7 B.C.

74. It is not out of keeping with the present narrative to recount the cause of his death and the events which befell this dynast toward the end of his life. Now Dionysius had produced a tragedy at the Lenaea[1] at Athens[2] and had won the victory, and one of those who sang in the chorus, supposing that he would be rewarded handsomely if he were the first to give news of the victory, set sail to Corinth. There, finding a ship bound for Sicily, he transferred to it, and obtaining favouring winds, speedily landed at Syracuse and gave the tyrant news of the victory. Dionysius did reward him, and was himself so overjoyed that he sacrificed to the gods for the good tidings and instituted a drinking bout and great feasts. As he entertained his friends lavishly and during the bout applied himself overzealously to drink, he fell violently ill from the quantity of liquor he had consumed. Now he had an oracle the gods had given him that he should die when he had conquered "his betters," but he interpreted the oracle as referring to the Carthaginians, assuming that these were "his betters." So in the wars that he had many times

and boring, but he never ceased to aspire. For one humiliating experience see Book 14. 109. See also Book 15. 6. The name of the play presented on this occasion was the *Ransom of Hector* (Nauck, *Trag. gr. fr.*², 794).

[2] It is to be noted that Athens was now, through Sparta, an ally of Dionysius I. (Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 1. 28-29.) Athens honoured Dionysius and his sons with public praises and crowns in 369/8. See Hicks and Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*², 108. For the formal alliance see *ibid.* 112. See also Bury, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 134 and 132.

πεπολεμηκὼς εἰώθει κατὰ τὰς νίκας ὑποφεύγειν καὶ ἑκουσίως ἡττᾶσθαι, ἵνα μὴ δόξῃ τῶν ἰσχυρο-
4 τέρων γεγονέναι[1] κρείττων. οὐ μὴν ἠδυνήθη γε τῇ πανουργίᾳ κατασοφίσασθαι τὴν ἐκ τῆς πεπρωμένης ἀνάγκην, ἀλλὰ ποιητὴς ὢν κακὸς καὶ διακριθεὶς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνίκησε τοὺς κρείττονας ποιητάς. εὐλόγως οὖν κατὰ τὸν χρησμὸν διὰ τὸ περιγενέσθαι τῶν κρειττόνων ἐπακολουθοῦσαν ἔσχε τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτήν.

5 Ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος ὁ νεώτερος διαδεξάμενος τὴν τυραννίδα πρῶτον τὰ πλήθη συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν παρεκάλεσε τοῖς οἰκείοις λόγοις τηρεῖν τὴν πατροπαράδοτον πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνοιαν, ἔπειτα τὸν πατέρα μεγαλοπρεπῶς θάψας κατὰ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πρὸς ταῖς βασιλίσι καλουμέναις πύλαις, ἠσφαλίσατο τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχήν.

75. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Πολυζήλου κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναρχία διά τινας πολιτικὰς στάσεις ἐγένετο, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φερῶν τύραννος ἐν τῇ Θετταλίᾳ περί τινων ἐγκαλέσας τῇ πόλει τῶν Σκοτουσσαίων, ἐκάλεσεν αὐτοὺς εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ περιστήσας τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἅπαντας ἀπέσφαξε, τὰ δὲ σώματα τῶν τετελευτηκότων ῥίψας εἰς τὴν πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν
2 τάφρον τὴν πόλιν διήρπασεν. Ἐπαμεινώνδας δ' ὁ[2] Θηβαῖος μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐμβαλὼν εἰς Πελοπόν-

[1] γεγονέναι κρείττων] κρείττων εἶναι FJK.
[2] δ' ὁ P, δὲ Vulgate.

[1] Though Diodorus has just said above that Dionysius was producing at Athens (§ 1), he seems by his repetition to wish to stress the fact that the judgement was rendered by the most critical and authoritative city of the time.

waged against them he was accustomed to withdraw 368/7 B.C.
in the hour of victory and accept defeat willingly, in order that he might not appear to have proved himself "better" than the stronger foe. For all that, however, he could not in the end by his chicanery outwit the destiny Fate had in store for him; on the contrary, though a wretched poet and though judged on this occasion in a competition at Athens,[1] he defeated "better" poets than himself. So in verbal consistency with the decree of the oracle he met his death as a direct consequence of defeating "his betters."

Dionysius the younger on his succession to the tyranny first gathered the populace in an assembly and urged them in appropriate words to maintain toward him the loyalty that passed to him with the heritage that he had received from his father; then, having buried his father with magnificent obsequies in the citadel by the gates called royal, he made secure for himself the administration of the government.

75. When Polyzelus was archon at Athens, anarchy 367/6 B.C.
prevailed at Rome because of civil dissensions, and in Greece, Alexander, tyrant of Pherae in Thessaly, having lodged accusations about certain matters against the city of Scotussa,[2] summoned its citizens to an assembly and, having surrounded them with mercenaries, slew them all, cast the bodies of the dead into the ditch in front of the walls, and plundered the city from end to end. Epameinondas, the Theban, entered the Peloponnese with an army, won over the

[2] A Thessalian town between Pherae and Pharsalus. For this blood-bath see Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 29. 4, 31. 1 and Pausanias, 6. 5. 2 f. (date given as 371/0, perhaps as a result of missing an Olympiad).

νησον τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καί τινας ἄλλας πόλεις προσηγάγετο,[1] Δύμην δὲ καὶ Ναύπακτον καὶ Καλυδῶνα φρουρουμένην ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν ἠλευθέρωσεν. ἐστράτευσαν δὲ καὶ εἰς Θετταλίαν Βοιωτοί, καὶ Πελοπίδαν ἐκομίσαντο παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φερῶν
3 τυράννου. Φλιασίοις δὲ πολεμουμένοις ὑπ' Ἀργείων Χάρης ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων πεμφθεὶς στρατηγὸς μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐβοήθησε[2]· νικήσας δὲ τοὺς Ἀργείους δυσὶ μάχαις καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν περιποιήσας τοῖς Φλιασίοις ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

76. Τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυσίου[3] χρόνου διεληλυθότος Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἦρχε Κηφισόδωρος, ἐν Ῥώμῃ δ' ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλιάρχους ὁ δῆμος τέσσαρας κατέστησε, Λεύκιον Φούριον, Παῦλον[4] Μάλλιον, Σερούιον Σουλπίκιον, Σερούιον Κορνήλιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Θεμίσων ὁ Ἐρετρίας τύραννος Ὠρωπὸν κατελάβετο. ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν οὖσαν Ἀθηναίων παραλόγως ἀπέβαλεν· τῶν γὰρ Ἀθηναίων στρατευσάντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ πολὺ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ὑπερεχόντων, οἱ Θηβαῖοι βοηθήσαντες αὐτῷ καὶ παραλαβόντες ἐν παρακαταθήκῃ τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀπέδωκαν.

2 Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Κῷοι μετῴκησαν εἰς τὴν νῦν οἰκουμένην πόλιν καὶ κατεσκεύασαν αὐτὴν ἀξιόλογον· πλῆθός τε γὰρ ἀνδρῶν εἰς ταύτην ἠθροίσθη καὶ τείχη πολυτελῆ κατεσκευάσθη καὶ λιμὴν ἀξιόλογος. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν χρόνων αἰεὶ

[1] προσηγάγετο Wesseling: προσήγαγεν.
[2] τοῖς Φλιασίοις πολιορκουμένοις after ἐβοήθησε deleted by Madvig, whom Vogel follows.
[3] So F, Dindorf, Vogel: ἐνιαυσιαίου Vulgate, Bekker.
[4] Αὖλον Rhodoman (cp. Livy, 6. 36. 3).

Achaeans[1] and some cities besides, and liberated Dymê, Naupactus, and Calydon, which were held by a garrison of the Achaeans. The Boeotians invaded Thessaly also and released Pelopidas[2] from the custody of Alexander, tyrant of Pherae. And to the Phliasians upon whom the Argives were waging war, Chares[3] brought assistance, having been sent with an army under his command by the Athenians; he defeated the Argives in two battles, and after securing the position of the Phliasians, returned to Athens. 367/6 B.C.

76. When the year ended, Cephisodorus was archon at Athens, and at Rome the people elected four military tribunes with consular power, Lucius Furius, Paulus Manlius, Servius Sulpicius, and Servius Cornelius. During their term of office, Themison,[4] tyrant of Eretria, seized Oropus. But this city, which belonged to Athens, he quite unexpectedly lost; for when the Athenians took the field against him with far superior forces, the Thebans, who had come to aid him and had taken over from him the city for safekeeping, did not give it back. 366/5 B.C.

While these things were going on, the Coans transferred their abode to the city they now inhabit and made it a notable place[5]; for a large population was gathered into it, and costly walls and a considerable harbour were constructed. From this time on its

[1] See Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 1. 41 f., who places this march after the peace conference (chap. 76. 3 *infra*), probably wrongly (Cary, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 94-95).
[2] See Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 29. 2-6. Following this rescue Pelopidas went to Susa as envoy from Thebes.
[3] See Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 2. 18 ff. under year 366.
[4] See Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 4. 1; Demosthenes, 18. 99; Aeschines, *On the Embassy*, 164; *Against Ctesiphon*, 85.
[5] See Strabo, 14. 2. 19.

μᾶλλον ηὐξήθη προσόδοις τε δημοσίαις καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πλούτοις, καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἐνάμιλλος ἐγένετο ταῖς πρωτευούσαις πόλεσιν.

3 Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἀποστείλας πρέσβεις ἔπεισε τοὺς Ἕλληνας τοὺς μὲν πολέμους καταλύσασθαι καὶ κοινὴν εἰρήνην συνθέσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. διόπερ ὅ τε Λακωνικὸς καὶ Βοιωτικὸς κληθεὶς πόλεμος κατελύθη, πλείω[1] μείνας ἐτῶν πέντε, τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῶν Λευκτρικῶν.

4 Ὑπῆρξαν δὲ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους ἄνδρες κατὰ παιδείαν ἄξιοι μνήμης Ἰσοκράτης τε ὁ ῥήτωρ καὶ οἱ τούτου γενόμενοι μαθηταὶ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλόσοφος, ἔτι δὲ Ἀναξιμένης ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς καὶ Πλάτων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἔτι δὲ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν φιλοσόφων οἱ τελευταῖοι, Ξενοφῶν τε ὁ τὰς ἱστορίας συγγραψάμενος ἐσχατογήρως ὤν· μέμνηται γὰρ τῆς Ἐπαμεινώνδου τελευτῆς μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον γεγενημένης· Ἀρίστιππός τε καὶ Ἀντισθένης, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Αἰσχίνης ὁ Σφήττιος ὁ Σωκρατικός.

77. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Χίωνος ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλίαρχοι κατεστάθησαν Κόιντος Σερουίλιος[2] καὶ Γάιος Οὐετόριος καὶ Αὖλος Κορνήλιος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Μάρκος Κορνήλιος καὶ Μάρκος Φάβιος.[3] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων εἰρήνης οὔσης κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, πάλιν ἀρχαὶ πολέμων συνέστησάν τισι τῶν πόλεων καὶ νεωτέρων πραγμάτων

[1] πλείω Bekker, Vogel] πλείων F, πλέον Dindorf.
[2] So Rhodoman (cp. Livy, 6. 36. 6): Σερούιος.
[3] So Rhodoman: Φάνιος.

public revenues and private wealth constantly increased, so much so that it became in a word a rival of the leading cities of Greece. 366/5 B.C.

While these things were going on, the Persian King[1] sent envoys and succeeded in persuading the Greeks to settle their wars and make a general peace with one another. Accordingly the war called Sparto-Boeotian was settled after lasting more than five years counting from the campaign of Leuctra.

In this period there were men memorable for their culture,[2] Isocrates the orator and those who became his pupils, Aristotle the philosopher, and besides these Anaximenes of Lampsacus, Plato of Athens, the last of the Pythagorean philosophers, and Xenophon who composed his histories in extreme old age, for he mentions the death of Epameinondas which occurred a few years later.[3] Then there were Aristippus and Antisthenes, and Aeschines of Sphettus, the Socratic.

77. When Chion was archon at Athens, at Rome military tribunes with consular power were elected, Quintus Servilius, Gaius Veturius, Aulus Cornelius, Marcus Cornelius, and Marcus Fabius. During their term of office, though peace prevailed throughout Greece, clouds of war again gathered in certain cities 365/4 B.C.

[1] See Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 1. 39. For previous embassies from Artaxerxes urging peace see chaps. 38. 1, 50. 4, 70. 2. This congress which met at Thebes seems to have been as unsuccessful as the previous ones.

[2] " Paideia " is translated " culture " by Werner Jaeger in his three-volume work of that title (1. xvi). One may well be surprised at a list of names which includes the orator Anaximenes of Lampsacus and omits Demosthenes. The last of the Pythagoreans include Archytas, Timaeus, Xenophilus, Phanton, Echecrates, Diocles, and Polymnastus (Diog. Laert. 8. 46, 79).

[3] *i.e.* later than the year 366/5.

καινοτομία παράλογος. οἱ γὰρ τῶν Ἀρκάδων
φυγάδες ὁρμηθέντες ἐξ Ἤλιδος κατελάβοντο τῆς
ὀνομαζομένης Τριφυλίας χωρίον ὀχυρόν, ὃ προσ-
2 ηγόρευται Λασιών.[1] ἐκ πολλῶν δὲ χρόνων περὶ τῆς
Τριφυλίας ἠμφισβήτουν Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἠλεῖοι, καὶ
κατὰ τὰς ἑκατέρων ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς ὑπεροχὰς
ἐναλλὰξ ἐκυρίευον τῆς χώρας· κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ὑπο-
κειμένους καιροὺς τῶν Ἀρκάδων κρατούντων τὴν
Τριφυλίαν, προφάσει τῶν φυγάδων ἀφῃροῦντο ταύ-
3 την τῶν Ἀρκάδων οἱ Ἠλεῖοι. διὸ καὶ παρ-
οξυνθέντες οἱ Ἀρκάδες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρέσβεις
ἐξαποστείλαντες ἀπῄτουν τὸ χωρίον· ὡς δ' οὐδεὶς
αὐτοῖς προσεῖχε, μετεπέμψαντο παρ' Ἀθηναίων
συμμαχίαν καὶ μετὰ ταύτης ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τὸν
Λασίωνα.[2] τῶν δὲ Ἠλείων βοηθησάντων τοῖς
φυγάσιν ἐγένετο μάχη πλησίον τοῦ Λασίωνος,[2] καὶ
τῶν Ἀρκάδων πολλαπλασίων ὄντων ἡττήθησαν
Ἠλεῖοι καὶ πλείους τῶν διακοσίων στρατιωτῶν
4 ἀπέβαλον. ταύτης δὲ ἀρχῆς τοῦ πολέμου γενομένης
συνέβη τὴν διαφορὰν ἐπὶ πλέον προβῆναι τοῖς
Ἀρκάσι καὶ τοῖς Ἠλείοις· εὐθὺς γὰρ οἱ μὲν Ἀρ-
κάδες μετεωρισθέντες τῷ προτερήματι ἐστράτευ-
σαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἠλείαν, καὶ εἷλον πόλεις Μάργανα
καὶ Κρόνιον, ἔτι δὲ Κυπαρισσίαν καὶ Κορυφάσιον.
5 Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις κατὰ τὴν Μακε-
δονίαν Πτολεμαῖος μὲν ὁ Ἀλωρίτης ἐδολοφονήθη

[1] So Dindorf: Λασσίων. [2] See note 1 above.

[1] There seems to be no specific reference to this group in Elis, though they probably went into exile at the same time as the groups which chose Sparta and Pallantium (chap. 59. 2). Even so Elis and Arcadia are allies in chaps 62. 5, 64. 6, and 68. 1. See Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 4.

and strange new outbreaks of revolution. For instance, the Arcadian exiles,[1] setting out from Elis, occupied a stronghold known as Lasion of the country called Triphylia. For many years Arcadia and Elis had been disputing the possession of Triphylia, and according as the ascendancy shifted from one country to the other, they had alternately been masters of the district; but at the period in question, though the Arcadians were ruling Triphylia, the Eleians, making the refugees a pretext, took it from the Arcadians.[2] As a result the Arcadians were incensed and at first dispatched envoys demanding a return of the district; but when no one paid any attention to them, they summoned an allied force from the Athenians and with it attacked Lasion. The Eleians coming to the rescue of the refugees, a battle ensued near Lasion in which, being many times outnumbered by the Arcadians, the Eleians were defeated and lost over two hundred men. When the war had started in this way, it came to pass that the disagreement between Arcadians and Eleians widened in scope, for immediately the Arcadians, elated by their success, invaded Elis and took the cities of Margana and Cronion,[3] and Cyparissia and Coryphasium.[4] 365/4 B.C.

While these things were going on, in Macedon Ptolemy of Alorus[5] was assassinated by his brother-

[2] See Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 12-27; Polybius, 4. 74.

[3] Margana was a town in Pisatis their claims to which the Eleians renounced to Sparta in a treaty in 400 (Xenophon, *Hell.* 3. 2. 30). Cronium appears to refer to the Hill of Cronos by the Alpheius in Pisatis.

[4] Of these Strabo says (8. 4. 1) "Messenê comes after Triphylia; and there is a cape which is common to both; and after this cape come Cyparissa and Coryphasium" (*L.C.L.*, translated by H. L. Jones).

[5] See chap. 71. 1.

ὑπὸ τἀδελφοῦ[1] Περδίκκα, βασιλεύσας ἔτη τρία· τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος ὁ Περδίκκας ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Μακεδονίας ἔτη πέντε.

78. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Τιμοκράτους ἐν Ῥώμῃ μὲν ἀντὶ τῶν ὑπάτων χιλίαρχοι τρεῖς κατεστάθησαν, Τίτος Κοΐνκτιος καὶ Σερούιος Κορνήλιος καὶ Σερούιος Σουλπίκιος, ὀλυμπιὰς δὲ ὑπὸ Πισατῶν καὶ Ἀρκάδων ἤχθη τετάρτη πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Φωκίδης Ἀθηναῖος.
2 ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Πισᾶται μὲν ἀνανεωσάμενοι τὸ παλαιὸν ἀξίωμα τῆς πατρίδος καί τισι μυθικαῖς καὶ παλαιαῖς ἀποδείξεσι χρώμενοι, τὴν θέσιν τῆς Ὀλυμπικῆς[2] πανηγύρεως αὑτοῖς προσήκειν ἀπεφαίνοντο. κρίνοντες δὲ τὸν παρόντα καιρὸν εὔθετον ἔχειν ἀμφισβητῆσαι τοῦ ἀγῶνος, συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς Ἀρκάδας ὄντας πολεμίους Ἠλείων· συναγωνιστὰς δὲ λαβόντες τούτους ἐστράτευσαν
3 ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἠλείους ἄρτι τιθέντας τὸν ἀγῶνα. ἀντιστάντων δὲ τῶν Ἠλείων πανδημεὶ συνέστη μάχη καρτερά, θεωμένων τὴν μάχην τῶν παρόντων ἐπὶ τὴν πανήγυριν Ἑλλήνων ἐστεφανωμένων καὶ μεθ' ἡσυχίας ἀκινδύνως ἐπισημαινομένων τὰς ἑκατέρωθεν ἀνδραγαθίας. τέλος Πισᾶται νικήσαντες ἔθηκαν τὸν ἀγῶνα, καὶ τὴν ὀλυμπιάδα ταύτην ὕστερον οὐκ ἀνέγραψαν Ἠλεῖοι διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν βίᾳ καὶ ἀδίκως διατεθῆναι.
4 Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Ἐπαμεινώνδας ὁ

[1] τἀδελφοῦ deleted by Vogel (cp. chap. 71. 1).
[2] So Vogel with PAFK: Ὀλυμπιακῆς *cet.*, Dindorf, Bekker.

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[1] See chap. 60. 3.

in-law Perdiccas[1] after ruling three years; and 365/4 B.C.
Perdiccas succeeded to the throne and ruled Macedon for five years.

78. When Timocrates was archon at Athens, in 364/3 B.C.
Rome three military tribunes with consular power were elected, Titus Quinctius, Servius Cornelius, and Servius Sulpicius; and the hundred fourth Olympiad was celebrated by the Pisans and Arcadians, in which Phocides, an Athenian, won the stadium race. During their term of office the Pisans, renewing the ancient prestige[2] of their country and resorting to mythical, antiquarian proofs, asserted that the honour of holding the Olympian festival was their prerogative. And judging that they had now a suitable occasion for claiming the games, they formed an alliance with the Arcadians, who were enemies of the Eleians. With them as supporters they took the field against the Eleians who were in the act of holding the games. The Eleians resisted with all their forces and a stubborn battle took place, having as spectators the Greeks who were present for the festival wearing wreaths on their heads and calmly applauding the deeds of valour on both sides, themselves out of reach of danger. Finally the Pisans won the day and held the games, but the Eleians later failed to record this Olympiad because they considered that it had been conducted by force and contrary to justice.

While these things were going on, Epameinondas

[2] For the struggle over the presidency of the Olympian games see P.-W. *Realencyclopädie*, 17. 2531-2536. Xenophon recounts this strife in *Hell.* 7. 4. 28-35. Pausanias notes the omission of the 104th Olympiad from the record of the Eleians in 6. 4. 2, 8. 3, 22. 3, in the last passage using the term ἀνολυμπιάς. For the relations of Elis and Arcadia see Cary, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 97-99.

Θηβαῖος, μέγιστον ἔχων τῶν πολιτῶν ἀξίωμα, συναχθείσης ἐκκλησίας διελέχθη τοῖς πολίταις, προτρεπόμενος αὐτοὺς ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν ἡγεμονίας. διελθὼν δὲ λόγον ἐκ χρόνου πεφροντισμένον ἐδείκνυε τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ταύτην συμφέρουσάν τε καὶ δυνατήν, τά τε ἄλλα προφερόμενος καὶ διότι τοῖς πεζῇ κρατοῦσι ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι περιποιήσασθαι τὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἀρχήν· καὶ γὰρ Ἀθηναίους ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ξέρξην πολέμῳ διακοσίας ναῦς ἰδίᾳ πληροῦντας[1] Λακεδαιμονίοις δέκα[2] ναῦς παρεχομένοις ὑποτετάχθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν οἰκείως διαλεχθεὶς ἔπεισε τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχῆς.

79. Εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο τριήρεις μὲν ἑκατὸν ναυπηγεῖσθαι, νεώρια δὲ ταύταις ἴσα[3] τὸν ἀριθμόν, Ῥοδίους δὲ καὶ Χίους καὶ Βυζαντίους προτρέπεσθαι βοηθῆσαι ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς. αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐκπεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ[4] τὰς εἰρημένας πόλεις Λάχητα μὲν τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγόν, ἔχοντα στόλον ἀξιόλογον καὶ διακωλύειν τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀπεσταλμένον, καταπληξάμενος καὶ ἀποπλεῦσαι συναναγκάσας, ἰδίας τὰς πόλεις τοῖς
2 Θηβαίοις ἐποίησεν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος πλείω χρόνον ἐπέζησεν, ὡμολογημένως ἂν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τῇ κατὰ γῆν ἡγεμονίᾳ[5] καὶ τὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἀρχὴν προσεκτήσαντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ μετ᾽

[1] *διακοσίας ναῦς ἰδίᾳ πληροῦντας* Reiske: *διακόσια ναυσίδια πληροῦντας* P, *διακοσίαις ναυσὶ διαπληροῦντας cet.*

[2] So L² (see Herod. 8. 1. 2): *δὲ καὶ cet.*

[3] Capps suggests *ἱκανὰ*.

[4] So JKL: *περὶ* the other MSS.

[5] *τῇ . . . ἡγεμονίᾳ* Dindorf (cp. Book 14. 100. 1): *τὴν . . . ἡγεμονίαν.*

the Theban, who enjoyed the highest standing amongst 364/3 B.C.
his fellow countrymen, harangued his fellow citizens at a meeting of the assembly, urging them to strive for the supremacy on the sea. In the course of the speech, which was the result of long consideration, he pointed out that this attempt was both expedient and possible, alleging in particular that it was easy for those who possessed supremacy on land to acquire the mastery of the sea. The Athenians, for instance, in the war with Xerxes, who had two hundred ships manned by themselves, were subject to the commands of the Lacedaemonians who provided only ten ships. By this and many other arguments suited to his theme he prevailed upon the Thebans to make a bid for the mastery at sea.

79. Accordingly the people immediately voted to construct a hundred triremes and dockyards to accommodate their number,[1] and to urge the peoples of Rhodes, Chios, and Byzantium to assist their schemes.[2] Epameinondas himself, who had been dispatched with a force to the aforementioned cities, so overawed Laches, the Athenian general, who had a large fleet and had been sent out to circumvent the Thebans, that he forced him to sail away and made the cities friendly to Thebes. Indeed if this man had lived on longer, the Thebans admittedly would have secured the mastery at sea in addition to their supremacy on

[1] Demosthenes says (14. 22) that one dockyard accommodated thirty ships. Certainly the dockyards cannot be equal in number, *ἴσα τὸν ἀριθμόν*, as Diodorus says. Post suggests that Diodorus may be using *νεώρια* in the sense of *νεωσοίκους* (slips).

[2] The attempt of Epameinondas to wrest naval supremacy from Athens is recounted by Cary, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 105. See Isocrates, *Philip*, 53 and Plutarch, *Philopoemen*, 14. 1, 2.

ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐν τῇ περὶ τὴν Μαντίνειαν μάχῃ λαμπροτάτην τὴν νίκην τῇ πατρίδι περιποιήσας ἡρωικῶς ἐτελεύτησεν, εὐθέως καὶ τὰ τῶν Θηβαίων πράγματα τῇ τούτου τελευτῇ συναπέθανεν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων τὰ κατὰ μέρος μικρὸν ὕστερον
3 ἀκριβῶς διέξιμεν. τότε δὲ τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἔδοξε στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς αἰτίας. τῶν φυγάδων τινὲς βουλόμενοι τὴν ἐν Θήβαις πολιτείαν εἰς ἀριστοκρατικὴν κατάστασιν μεταστῆσαι, συνέπεισαν τοὺς τῶν Ὀρχομενίων ἱππεῖς, ὄντας τριακοσίους, συνεπιλαβέσθαι τῆς ἐπι-
4 βολῆς. οὗτοι δὲ εἰωθότες μετὰ Θηβαίων[1] ἀπαντᾶν ἡμέρᾳ τεταγμένῃ πρὸς τὴν ἐξοπλισίαν, εἰς ταύτην συνέθεντο ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐπίθεσιν· πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων κοινωνούντων τῆς προθέσεως καὶ προσορμη-
5 σάντων, ἀπήντησαν πρὸς τὸν καιρόν. οἱ μὲν οὖν συστησάμενοι τὴν πρᾶξιν μετανοήσαντες ἐδήλωσαν τοῖς βοιωτάρχαις τὴν ἐπίθεσιν, προδόντες τοὺς συνομόσαντας, καὶ διὰ τῆς εὐεργεσίας ταύτης ἑαυτοῖς ἐπορίσαντο τὴν σωτηρίαν. τῶν δ' ἀρχόντων συλλαβόντων τοὺς τῶν Ὀρχομενίων ἱππεῖς καὶ παραγαγόντων[2] εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο τούτους μὲν ἀποσφάξαι, τοὺς δ' Ὀρχομενίους ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασκάψαι. ἐκ παλαιῶν γὰρ χρόνων οἱ Θηβαῖοι πρὸς τούτους ἀλλοτρίως διέκειντο, δασμοφοροῦντες μὲν τοῖς Μινύαις ἐν τοῖς ἡρωικοῖς χρόνοις, ὕστερον δ'
6 ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους ἐλευθερωθέντες. οἱ δ' οὖν Θηβαῖοι καιρὸν ἔχειν νομίσαντες καὶ προφάσεις εὐλόγους

[1] μετὰ Θηβαίων Post, ἐκ Θηβῶν Wesseling, τοῖς ἐκ Θηβῶν Dindorf, ἐπὶ Θηβῶν Hertlein, ἐξ ἀρχαίων Wurm, εἰς Θήβας Vogel: ἐκ Θηβαίων. [2] So Schäfer: παραγόντων.

land; when, however, a little while later, after winning a most glorious victory for his country in the battle of Mantineia, he died a hero's death, straightway the power of Thebes died with him. But this subject we shall set forth accurately in detail a little later. At that time [1] the Thebans decided to take the field against Orchomenus for the following reasons. Certain refugees who wanted to change the constitution of Thebes to an aristocracy induced the knights of Orchomenus, three hundred in all, to join them in the attempt. These knights, who were in the habit of meeting with some Thebans on a stated day for a review under arms, agreed to make the attack on this day, and along with many others who joined the movement and added their efforts, they met at the appointed time. Now the men who had originated the action changed their minds, and disclosed to the boeotarchs the projected attack, thus betraying their fellow conspirators, and by this service they purchased safety for themselves. The officials arrested the knights from Orchomenus and brought them before the assembly, where the people voted to execute them, to sell the inhabitants of Orchomenus into slavery, and to raze the city. For from earliest times the Thebans had been ill-disposed towards them, having paid tribute to the Minyae [2] in the heroic age, but later they had been liberated by Heracles. So the Thebans, thinking they had a good opportunity and having got 364/3 B.C.

[1] Diodorus' dating of the destruction of Orchomenus is established by the fact that Isocrates (*Archidamus*, 27) does not know of the event. See Pausanias, 9. 15. 3; Demosthenes, 20. 109; Plutarch, *Comparison of Pelopidas and Marcellus*, 1.

[2] Peoples of prehistoric Greece who from Orchomenus ruled a large area of central Greece.

τῆς τιμωρίας λαβόντες, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀρχομενόν· κατασχόντες[1] *δὲ τὴν πόλιν τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας ἀπέκτειναν, τέκνα δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο.*

80. *Περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς Θετταλοὶ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φερῶν τύραννον διαπολεμοῦντες καὶ πλείοσι μάχαις ἡττώμενοι,*[2] *πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπολωλεκότες, πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς Θηβαίους, ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοῖς βοηθῆσαι καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτοῖς ἐξαποστεῖλαι Πελοπίδαν. ᾔδει-*
σαν γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τὴν ὑπ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρου
σύλληψιν ἀλλοτριώτατα διακείμενον πρὸς τὸν δυ-
νάστην, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ διάφορον καὶ ἐπὶ
2 *στρατηγικῇ συνέσει διαβεβοημένον. συναχθείσης*
δὲ τῆς κοινῆς συνόδου τῶν Βοιωτῶν καὶ τῶν πρέσ-
βεων διαλεχθέντων περὶ ὧν εἶχον ἐντολάς, οἱ μὲν
Βοιωτοὶ πάντα συνεχώρησαν τοῖς Θετταλοῖς, καὶ
δόντες εἰς ἑπτακισχιλίους στρατιώτας τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ
συντόμως ἐκέλευον βοηθεῖν αὐτὸν τοῖς δεομένοις·
τοῦ δὲ Πελοπίδου ταχέως μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως
3 *ἐξιόντος συνέβη τὸν ἥλιον ἐκλιπεῖν. πολλῶν δὲ*
τὸ γεγονὸς ὑποπτευσαμένων, τῶν μάντεών τινες
ἀπεφήναντο διὰ τὴν γενομένην ἔξοδον τῶν στρα-
τιωτῶν ἐκλιπεῖν τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἥλιον. καὶ διὰ
τούτων τῶν λόγων προλεγόντων τὸν τοῦ Πελοπίδου
θάνατον, οὐδὲν ἧττον ὁ Πελοπίδας ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ
4 *τὴν στρατείαν,*[3] *ὑπὸ τοῦ χρεὼν ἀγόμενος. ὡς δὲ*
κατήντησεν εἰς τὴν Θετταλίαν, καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον

[1] So Stephanus : *κατέχοντες* P, *ἔχοντες cet.*
[2] *ἡττώμενοι* (*ἡττόμενοι* P)] *ἡττημένοι* Dindorf.

plausible pretexts for punishing them, took the field 364/3 B.C.
against Orchomenus, occupied the city, slew the male inhabitants and sold into slavery the women and children.

80. About this time the Thessalians, who continued the war upon Alexander, tyrant of Pherae, and, suffering defeat in most of the battles, had lost large numbers of their fighting men, sent ambassadors to the Thebans with a request to assist them and to dispatch to them Pelopidas as general.[1] For they knew that on account of his arrest[2] by Alexander he was on very bad terms with the ruler, and besides, that he was a man of superior courage and widely renowned for his shrewdness in the art of war. When the common council of the Boeotians convened and the envoys had explained the matters on which they had been instructed, the Boeotians concurred with the Thessalians in every matter, gave Pelopidas seven thousand men and ordered him speedily to assist as requested ; but as Pelopidas was hastening to leave with his army,[3] the sun, as it happened, was eclipsed.[4] Many were superstitious about the phenomenon, and some of the soothsayers declared that because of the withdrawal of the soldiers, the city's " sun " had been eclipsed. Although in this interpretation they were foretelling the death of Pelopidas, he notwithstanding set out for the campaign, drawn on by Fate. When he arrived in Thessaly, and found that Alexander had

[1] See Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 31-35 ; Nepos, *Pelopidas*, 5.
[2] See chaps. 71. 2, 75. 2.
[3] According to Plutarch, Pelopidas left his army because of the eclipse and took command of the Thessalian League.
[4] 13 July 364.

[3] So Schäfer : *στρατίαν* P, *στρατιάν* Vulgate.

κατέλαβε προκατειλημμένον τοὺς ὑπερδεξίους τόπους καὶ στρατιώτας ἔχοντα πλείους τῶν δισμυρίων, ἀντεστρατοπέδευσε μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις, προσλαβόμενος δὲ συμμάχους παρὰ τῶν Θετταλῶν συνῆψε
5 μάχην τοῖς ἐναντίοις. τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου διὰ τὰς ὑπεροχὰς τῶν τόπων πλεονεκτοῦντος, ὁ Πελοπίδας σπεύδων διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀνδρείας κρῖναι τὴν μάχην ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὥρμησε τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. τοῦ δὲ δυνάστου μετὰ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ὑποστάντος, ἐγένετο μάχη καρτερά, καθ' ἣν ὁ Πελοπίδας ἀριστεύων πάντα τὸν περὶ αὐτὸν τόπον νεκρῶν κατέστρωσε, τέλος δ' ἐπιθεὶς τῷ κινδύνῳ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τρεψάμενος τὴν μὲν νίκην περιεποιήσατο, τὸν δὲ αὑτοῦ βίον ἀπέβαλε,[1] πολλοῖς περιπεσὼν τραύμασι
6 καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἡρωικῶς προέμενος. ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος δευτέρᾳ μάχῃ λειφθεὶς[2] καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις συντριβείς, ἠναγκάσθη καθ' ὁμολογίαν τοῖς μὲν Θετταλοῖς τὰς καταπεπολεμημένας πόλεις ἀποδοῦναι, Μάγνητας δὲ καὶ τοὺς Φθιώτας Ἀχαιοὺς παραδοῦναι Βοιωτοῖς, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν Φερῶν μόνων[3] ἄρχοντα σύμμαχον εἶναι Βοιωτοῖς.

81. Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι περιβόητον νίκην ἀπενηνεγμένοι, πρὸς ἅπαντας ἔφασαν ἑαυτοὺς ἡττᾶσθαι[4] διὰ τὴν Πελοπίδου τελευτήν· ἀξιόλογον γὰρ ἀπολωλεκότες ἄνδρα, κατὰ λόγον ἔκρινον τὴν νίκην ἥττονα ὑπάρχειν τῆς Πελοπίδου δόξης. πολλὰς γὰρ καὶ μεγάλας χρείας παρέσχετο τῇ πατρίδι, πλεῖστον δὲ συνεβάλετο πρὸς τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων

[1] ἀπέβαλε: ἀπέβαλεν P, ἀνέλιπε *cet.*
[2] So Dindorf, Bekker, Vogel: ληφθείς.
[3] So A, Vogel (cp. chap. 8. 2): *μόνον cet.*

forestalled him by occupying the commanding positions and had more than twenty thousand[1] men, he encamped opposite the enemy, and, strengthening his forces with allied troops from among the Thessalians, joined battle with his opponents. Although Alexander had the advantage by reason of his superior position, Pelopidas, eager to settle the battle by his own courage, charged Alexander himself. The ruler with a corps of picked men resisted, and a stubborn battle ensued, in the course of which Pelopidas, performing mighty deeds of valour, strewed all the ground about him with dead men, and though he brought the contest to a close, routed the enemy and won the victory, he yet lost his own life, suffering many wounds and heroically forfeiting his life. But Alexander, after being worsted in a second battle and utterly crushed, was compelled by agreement to restore to the Thessalians the cities he had reduced, to surrender the Magnesians and the Phthiotian Achaeans to the Boeotians, and for the future to be the ruler over Pherae alone as an ally of the Boeotians. 364/3 B.C.

81. Although the Thebans had won a famous victory, they declared to the world that they were the losers because of the death of Pelopidas; for having lost such a remarkable man, they rightly judged the victory of less account than the fame of Pelopidas. Indeed he had done many great services to his country and had contributed more than any other man to the

[1] Probably an exaggeration. The victory was not so important, otherwise the Thebans would not have found it necessary to send a large army into Thessaly shortly afterward. For this battle of Cynoscephalae see Cary, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 86-87.

[4] ἡττᾶσθαι] ἡττῆσθαι Schäfer, edd.

αὔξησιν. ἐν γὰρ τῇ τῶν φυγάδων κατηλύσει,[1] καθ'
ἣν ἀνεκτήσαντο τὴν Καδμείαν, ὡμολογημένως
ἅπαντες τούτῳ τὸ πρωτεῖον τοῦ κατορθώματος
ἀπονέμουσιν. τὴν δ' εὐημερίαν ταύτην συνέβη
πάντων τῶν ὕστερον γενομένων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαν
2 γενέσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῇ περὶ Τεγύραν[2] μάχῃ μόνος
Πελοπίδας τῶν βοιωταρχῶν ἐνίκησε τοὺς Λακε-
δαιμονίους, πλεῖστον[3] ἰσχύοντας τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὅτε
διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς νίκης πρῶτον ἔστησαν Θηβαῖοι
τρόπαιον κατὰ Λακεδαιμονίων. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐν
Λεύκτροις μάχην ἡγήσατο τοῦ ἱεροῦ λόχου, μεθ'
οὗ προεμβαλὼν τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις ἀρχηγὸς ἐγένετο
τῆς νίκης. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐπὶ Λακεδαίμονα στρατείαις
ἑπτὰ μὲν ἡγήσατο μυριάδων, πρὸς αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ
Σπάρτῃ τρόπαιον ἔστησε κατὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
τῶν πάντα τὸν πρὸ τοῦ[4] χρόνον ἀπορθήτων γεγενη-
3 μένων. πρὸς δὲ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα πρεσβεύσας
ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ὁμολογίαις τὴν Μεσσήνην κατ'
ἰδίαν παρέλαβεν, ἣν ἀνάστατον οὖσαν ἔτη τριακόσια
Θηβαῖοι πάλιν ἀποκατέστησαν. ἐπὶ τελευτῆς δὲ
διαγωνισάμενος πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ἔχοντα πολλα-
πλασίονα[5] δύναμιν οὐ μόνον ἐπιφανῶς ἐνίκησεν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν θάνατον ἔσχεν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ περιβόητον.
4 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πολίτας οὕτω καλῶς[6] διετέθη, ὥστε

[1] So Reiske: καταλήψει.
[2] Τεγύραν Stephanus (cp. Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 16 f.), Dindorf, Bekker: Τεγέαν MSS., Vogel.
[3] πλεῖστον Hertlein: πλείους PA, πλεῖον *cet.*
[4] τοῦ Dindorf, Vogel: τούτου.
[5] πολλαπλασίονα Dindorf: πολλαπλάσιον.
[6] ἀγωνισάμενος after καλῶς deleted by Vogel; καλῶς ἀγ. placed after ἐνίκησεν (above) by Reiske, after περιβόητον by Dindorf, Bekker.

[1] But Diodorus does not mention Pelopidas in his account

rise of Thebes. For in the matter of the return of the refugees,[1] whereby he recaptured the Cadmeia, all men agree in attributing to him the principal credit for its success. And it turned out that this piece of good fortune was the cause of all the subsequent happy events. In the battle by Tegyra,[2] Pelopidas alone of the boeotarchs won victory over the Lacedaemonians, the most powerful of the Greeks, the first occasion when on account of the importance of the victory the Thebans erected a trophy over the Lacedaemonians. In the battle of Leuctra he commanded the Sacred Band,[3] with which he charged the Spartans first and thus was the primary cause of the victory. In the campaigns about Lacedaemon, he commanded seventy thousand men, and in the very territory of Sparta erected a trophy of victory over the Lacedaemonians, who never in all previous time had seen their land plundered.[4] As ambassador to the Persian King he took Messenê under his personal charge in the general settlement, and though for three hundred years it had been stripped of inhabitants, the Thebans established it again.[5] At the end of his life, in the contest with Alexander who had an army far outnumbering his, he not only gained a glorious victory, but also met his death with a courage that made it renowned.[6] In his relations with his fellow citizens 364/3 B.C.

(chaps. 25, 26) of retaking the Cadmeia. (For this see Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 7-12.)

[2] A village of Boeotia near Orchomenus. The battle of Tegyra is described by Plutarch (see critical notes) as a "sort of prelude" to that of Leuctra and one of Pelopidas' most glorious exploits.

[3] See Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 18; 20. 2; 23. 2, 4. Nepos, *Pelopidas*, 4. 2.

[4] See chaps. 62. 4 ff. and notes.

[5] See Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 30. 5; Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 1. 35-36.

[6] See chap. 80 and notes.

ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς τὰς Θήβας καθόδου τῶν φυγάδων[1] *μέχρι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τελευτῆς βοιωταρχῶν πάντα τὸν χρόνον διετέλεσε, μηδενὸς ἄλλου τῶν πολιτῶν ταύτης ἠξιωμένου τῆς τιμῆς. Πελοπίδας μὲν οὖν, διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀποδοχῆς ἠξιωμένος, ἐχέτω καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν τὸν διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ἔπαινον.*

5 *Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Κλέαρχος, τὸ γένος ὢν ἐξ Ἡρακλείας τῆς ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ, ἐπέθετο τυραννίδι· κρατήσας δὲ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἐζήλωσε μὲν τὴν διαγωγὴν τὴν Διονυσίου τοῦ Συρακοσίων τυράννου,*[2] *τυραννεύσας δὲ τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν ἐπι-*
6 *φανῶς ἦρξεν ἔτη δώδεκα. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Τιμόθεος ὁ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς ἔχων δύναμιν πεζήν*[3] *τε καὶ ναυτικὴν Τορώνην μὲν καὶ Ποτίδαιαν πολιορκήσας εἷλε, Κυζικηνοῖς δὲ πολιορκουμένοις ἐβοήθησεν.*

82. *Τοῦ δ' ἔτους τούτου διεληλυθότος Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἦρχε Χαρικλείδης, ἐν Ῥώμῃ δ' ὕπατοι κατεστάθησαν Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος Μάμερκος καὶ Λεύκιος Σέξτιος Λατερίας. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀρκάδες μετὰ Πισαίων κοινῇ τεθεικότες ὑπῆρχον τὸν ἀγῶνα*

[1] *φυγάδων* Post: *πολιτῶν*.
[2] *τὴν διαγωγὴν τὴν Δ. τοῦ Σ. τυράννου* P, Vogel: *τ. δ. Δ. . . . τ.* ALFJK, *τ. Δ. . . . τ. δ. cet.*, Dindorf, Bekker.
[3] *πεζήν* Dindorf: *πεζικήν*.

[1] Confirmed by Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 34. 5.
[2] Clearchus had been a student of Isocrates and Plato. He was exiled from Heracleia a few years previous to 364 and had become a mercenary commander in the service of Persia. Called in by the council of Heracleia to combat the democracy, Clearchus placed himself at the head of the democratic movement, ousted the oligarchs, confiscated their

he was so favourably treated that from the return of the exiles to Thebes until his death he continued every year to hold the office of boeotarch,[1] an honour accorded to no other citizen. So let Pelopidas, whose personal merits received the approbation of all, receive from us too the approbation of History. 364/3 B.C.

At the same time, Clearchus, who was a native of Heracleia on the Black Sea, set out to win a tyranny, and when he had achieved his purpose, he emulated the methods of Dionysius tyrant of Syracuse, and after becoming tyrant of Heracleia ruled with conspicuous success for twelve years.[2] While these things were going on Timotheüs, the Athenian general, commanding a force of both infantry and ships, besieged and took Toronê and Potidaea,[3] and brought relief to Cyzicus,[4] which was undergoing a siege.

82. When this year had ended, at Athens Charicleides[5] became archon, and in Rome consuls were elected, Lucius Aemilius Mamercus and Lucius Sextius Lateranus. During their term of office the Arcadians collaborating with the Pisans administered 363/2 B.C.

property, freed their slaves, and set up a tyranny along the line of Dionysius of Syracuse. See Justin, 16. 4-5.
[3] On Toronê and Potidaea see Isocrates, *Antidosis*, 108, 113 f. and Polyaenus, 3. 10. 15.
[4] The Theban fleet under Epameinondas had been operating during the summer of 364 in the Sea of Marmora and had caused Byzantium to withdraw from the Athenian confederacy (see chap. 79. 1). At the arrival of Timotheüs in the region, Epameinondas prudently withdrew and Timotheüs recovered Byzantium and relieved the siege of Cyzicus. See Nepos, *Timotheüs*, 1. 3 and Glotz, *Hist. gr.* 3. 170.
[5] The battle of Mantineia, described under this archonship, occurred in 362 just as the Mantineians were gathering in the harvest (Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 5. 14), which would normally take place from the middle of June on (Fougères, *Mantinée et l'Arcadie orientale*, 56, 460).

τῶν Ὀλυμπίων, καὶ ἐκυρίευον τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν
ἐν αὐτῷ χρημάτων. τῶν δὲ Μαντινέων ἀναλα-
βόντων εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους βίους οὐκ ὀλίγα τῶν ἀναθη-
μάτων ἔσπευδον οἱ παρανομήσαντες διακατέχειν
τὸν πρὸς Ἠλείους πόλεμον, ἵνα μὴ δῶσιν ἐν εἰρήνῃ
2 λόγον τῶν ἀναλωθέντων. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ἀρκάδων
βουλομένων συνθέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, στάσεις[1] ἐκί-
νησαν πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς. γενομένων οὖν δυεῖν
ἑταιριῶν, συνέβαινε τῆς μὲν τοὺς Τεγεάτας, τῆς
3 δὲ τοὺς Μαντινεῖς ἡγεῖσθαι. ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ τῆς
διαφορᾶς αὐξηθείσης εἰς τὴν διὰ τῶν ὅπλων κρίσιν
κατήντησαν, καὶ Τεγεᾶται μὲν πρεσβεύσαντες πρὸς
Βοιωτοὺς ἔπεισαν ἑαυτοῖς βοηθεῖν, οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ
στρατηγὸν ἐπιστήσαντες Ἐπαμεινώνδαν καὶ δύ-
ναμιν ἀξιόλογον δόντες ἐξαπέστειλαν βοηθῆσαι τοῖς
4 Τεγεάταις. οἱ δὲ Μαντινεῖς τὴν ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας
δύναμιν καὶ τὴν Ἐπαμεινώνδου δόξαν καταπλα-
γέντες, πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροτάτους τῶν Βοιωτῶν Ἀθη-
ναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους πρέσβεις ἐκπέμψαντες
ἔπεισαν συμμαχεῖν. ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ἁδρὰς δυ-
νάμεις ταχέως ἀποστειλάντων, ἀγῶνες πολλοὶ καὶ
5 μεγάλοι κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον συνέστησαν. εὐ-
θὺς οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν πλησίον οἰκοῦντες ἐστρά-
τευσαν εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν, Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ κατὰ
τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως προϊὼν καὶ
τῆς Μαντινείας οὐ μακρὰν ἀπέχων ἐπύθετο παρὰ
τῶν ἐγχωρίων ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι πανδημεὶ πορ-

[1] *στάσεις* P, Vogel : *στάσιν* Vulgate, Dindorf, Bekker.

[1] For the use of the treasure see Cary, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 98, and for the gold coins issued in the name of Pisa see *op. cit.*, Volume of Plates, ii. 6. d.

[2] Diodorus completely reverses the rôle of Mantineia in

the Olympian games, and were masters of the temple 363/2 B.C.
and the offerings deposited in it.[1] Since the Mantineians had appropriated for their own private uses a large number of the dedications, they were eager as transgressors for the war against the Eleians to continue, in order to avoid, if peace were restored, giving an account of their expenditures.[2] But since the rest of the Arcadians wished to make peace, they stirred up strife against their fellow countrymen. Two parties accordingly sprang up, one headed by Tegea, and the other by Mantineia. Their quarrel assumed such proportions that they resorted to a decision by arms, and the Tegeans, having sent ambassadors to the Boeotians, won assistance for themselves, for the Boeotians appointed Epameinondas general, gave him a large army, and dispatched him to aid the Tegeans.[3] The Mantineians, terrified at the army from Boeotia and the reputation of Epameinondas, sent envoys to the bitterest enemies of the Boeotians, the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians, and prevailed upon them to fight on their side.[4] And when both peoples had quickly sent in response strong armies, many heavy engagements took place in the Peloponnesus. Indeed the Lacedaemonians, living near at hand, immediately invaded Arcadia, but Epameinondas, advancing at this juncture with his army and being not far from Mantineia, learned from the inhabitants that the Lacedaemonians, in full force, were plundering the territory

the matter of the use of the treasures of Olympia. Mantineia, according to Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 4. 33, protested against this and headed the party eager to make peace with Elis. The quarrel over the appropriation of sacred money brought to light the fundamental split in Arcadian politics.

[3] See Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 4. 34, 35.

[4] See Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 5. 3.

6 θοῦσι τὴν τῶν Τεγεατῶν χώραν. ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ἔρημον εἶναι στρατιωτῶν τὴν Σπάρτην, ἐπεβάλετο μὲν μέγα τι πρᾶξαι, τὴν δὲ τύχην ἔσχεν ἀντιπράττουσαν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ νυκτὸς ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων *Ἄγις ὑποπτεύσας τὴν ἀγχίνοιαν τὴν Ἐπαμεινώνδου κατεστοχάσατο μὲν τὸ μέλλον ἐμφρόνως, ἐξέπεμψε[1] δέ τινας Κρῆτας ἡμεροδρόμους, δι' ὧν καταταχήσας τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν τοῖς ἀπολελειμμένοις ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἐδήλωσε, διότι Βοιωτοὶ συντόμως ἥξουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα πορθήσοντες τὴν πόλιν, αὐτὸς δ' ὡς ἂν τάχιστα δύναιτο μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἥξει βοηθήσων τῇ πατρίδι. ἐκέλευεν οὖν[2] τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ παραφυλάττειν τὴν πόλιν μηδὲν καταπεπληγμένους· ταχὺ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπιφανέντα βοηθήσειν.

83. Τῶν δὲ Κρητῶν συντόμως τὸ παραγγελθὲν ποιησάντων, παραδόξως οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς πατρίδος ἐξέφυγον· μὴ προδηλωθείσης γὰρ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως ἔλαθεν ἂν ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας εἰσπεσὼν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐπίνοιαν τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀμφοτέρων δικαίως ἄν τις ἀποδέξαιτο, συνετωτέραν δὲ στρατηγίαν τὴν τοῦ Λά-
2 κωνος[3] ἡγήσαιτο. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ὅλην τὴν νύκτα διαγρυπνήσας καὶ τὸ διάστημα τῆς ὁδοῦ κατὰ σπουδὴν διανύσας ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ προσῆγε τῇ Σπάρτῃ. ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς ἀπολελειμμένος Ἀγησίλαος ὀλίγῳ πρότερον χρόνῳ τῶν Κρητῶν ἀκούσας τὰ κατὰ μέρος, εὐθὺς μετὰ πολλῆς

[1] ἐξέπεμψε Wurm: ἥξειν πέμψαι PA, ἥξειν πέμψας FKL, ἥξειν ἔπεμψε cet. [2] Dindorf: ἐκέλευε γοῦν.
[3] Rhodoman: Λακεδαίμονος.

of Tegea. Supposing then that Sparta was stripped of soldiers, he planned a great stroke, but fortune worked against him. He himself set out by night to Sparta, but the Lacedaemonian king Agis, suspecting the cunning of Epameinondas, shrewdly guessed what he would do, and sent out some Cretan runners and through them forestalling Epameinondas got word to the men who had been left behind in Sparta that the Boeotians would shortly appear in Lacedaemon to sack the city, but that he himself would come as quickly as possible with his army to bring aid to his native land.[1] So he gave orders for those who were in Sparta to watch over the city and be terrified at nothing, for he himself would soon appear with help. 363/2 B.C.

83. The Cretans speedily carried out their orders, and the Lacedaemonians miraculously avoided the capture of their native land; for had not the attack been disclosed in advance, Epameinondas would have burst into Sparta undetected. We can justly praise the ingenuity of both generals, but should deem the strategy of the Laconian the shrewder. It is true that Epameinondas, without resting the entire night, covered the distance at top speed and at daybreak attacked Sparta. But Agesilaüs, who had been left on guard and had learned only shortly before from the Cretans all about the enemy's plan, straightway

[1] See Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 5. 4-17; Polybius, 9. 8; Plutarch, *Agesilaüs*, 34. Diodorus' account diverges from the other three in that it is Agesilaüs who is represented by them as already on the way to Mantineia and forced to return to protect Sparta. Except for the well-known bias of Xenophon for Agesilaüs, one could unhesitatingly suspect Diodorus, especially since no Spartan king Agis is known for this date. Cleomenes, brother of Agesipolis and son of Cleombrotus, succeeded the former in 370 and still ruled (see chap. 60. 4 and note 2 on p. 119).

σπουδῆς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιήσατο τῆς πόλεως.
3 τοὺς μὲν οὖν πρεσβυτάτους τῶν παίδων καὶ τοὺς γεγηρακότας ἐπὶ τὰ στέγη[1] τῶν οἰκιῶν ἀνεβίβασε καὶ προσέταξεν ἀπὸ τούτων ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν βιαζομένους, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀκμάζοντας ταῖς ἡλικίαις συντάξας διεμέρισεν εἰς τὰς πρὸ τῆς πόλεως δυσχωρίας καὶ παρόδους, καὶ πάντας τοὺς δυναμένους τόπους δέξασθαι δίοδον ἐμφράξας ἀν-
4 έμενε τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἔφοδον. Ἐπαμεινώνδας δ' εἰς πλείω μέρη διελόμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ πάντῃ προσπίπτων κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν, ὡς εἶδε τὴν τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν σύνταξιν, εὐθὺς ἔγνω μεμηνυμένην τὴν πρᾶξιν· ὅμως δὲ προσμαχόμενος πᾶσι κατὰ μέρος καὶ ταῖς δυσχωρίαις ἐλαττούμενος
5 συνῆπτεν εἰς χεῖρας. πολλὰ δὲ παθὼν καὶ δράσας οὐκ ἀπέστη τῆς φιλοτιμίας, ἕως τὸ στράτευμα[2] τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην· πολλῶν δὲ βοηθούντων τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς καταλαβούσης, ἔλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν.

84. Πυθόμενος δὲ παρὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὅτι Μαντινεῖς πανδημεὶ πάρεισι βοηθοῦντες τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, τότε μὲν ἀναχωρήσας μικρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως κατεστρατοπέδευσεν· παραγγείλας δὲ δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, καταλιπὼν τῶν ἱππέων τινάς, τούτοις μὲν παρήγγειλεν ἕως[3] ἑωθινῆς φυλακῆς πυρὰ καίειν ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀφορμήσας ἔσπευσεν ἄφνω προσπεσεῖν[4]
2 τοῖς ἀπολελειμμένοις ἐν τῇ Μαντινείᾳ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ πολλὴν διανύσας ὁδὸν ἄφνω τοῖς Μαντινεῦσιν ἀνελπίστως ἐπέρραξεν, οὐ μὴν ἐκράτησε

[1] τέγη AFK. [2] Dindorf: στρατοπέδευμα. [3] ἕως added by Wurm.

devoted his utmost energy to the care of the city's 363/2 B.C. defence. He placed the oldest children and the aged on the roofs of the houses and instructed them from there to defend themselves against the enemy if he forced a way into the city, while he himself lined up the men in the prime of life and apportioned them to the obstacles in front of the city and to the approaches, and, having blocked all places that could offer passage, he awaited the attack of the enemy. Epameinondas, after dividing his soldiers into several columns, attacked everywhere at once, but when he saw the disposition of the Spartans, he knew immediately that his move had been revealed. Nevertheless he made the assault on all the positions one after the other, and, though he was at a disadvantage because of the obstacles, closed in a hand-to-hand combat. Many a blow he received and dealt and did not call off the zealous rivalry until the army of the Lacedaemonians re-entered Sparta. Then as many came to the assistance of the besieged and night intervened, he desisted from the siege.

84. Having learned from his captives that the Mantineians had come in full force to assist the Lacedaemonians, Epameinondas then withdrew a short distance from the city and encamped, and having given orders to prepare mess, he left some of the horsemen and ordered them to burn fires in the camp until the morning watch, while he himself set out with his army and hurried to fall suddenly on those who had been left in Mantineia. Having covered much ground on the next day, he suddenly broke in on the Mantineians when they were not expecting it. How-

[4] So Vogel; ἐπιπεσεῖν Reiske: περιπεσεῖν.

τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, καίπερ ἅπαντα τῇ στρατηγίᾳ προνοησάμενος, ἀλλὰ τὴν τύχην λαβὼν ἀντιπράττουσαν παραδόξως ἀπέβαλε τὴν νίκην. ἄρτι γὰρ αὐτοῦ πλησιάζοντος ἐρήμῳ τῇ πόλει κατήντησαν ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Μαντινείας οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατιῶται πρὸς τὴν συμμαχίαν, ὄντες ἑξακισχίλιοι, στρατηγὸν δ' ἔχοντες Ἡγησίλεων,[1] ἄνδρα τότε[2] παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ἐπαινούμενον. οὗτος δὲ τοὺς ἱκανοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν παρεισαγαγών, τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν ἐξέταξεν ὡς μάχῃ διακριθησό-
3 μενος.[3] εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Μαντινεῖς ἐπεφάνησαν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅλων κρίσιν ἅπαντες κατεσκευάζοντο[4] καὶ τοὺς πανταχόθεν συμ-
4 μάχους μετεπέμποντο. τοῖς μὲν οὖν Μαντινεῦσιν ἐβοήθουν Ἠλεῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, ὧν ὁ σύμπας ἀριθμὸς ἦν πεζοὶ μὲν πλείους τῶν δισμυρίων ἱππεῖς δὲ περὶ δισχιλίους· τοῖς δὲ Τεγεάταις συνεμάχουν οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ κράτιστοι τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ[5] καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καί τινες ἕτεροι τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν συμμάχων, οἱ δὲ πάντες ἠθροίσθησαν πεζοὶ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοὺς τρισμυρίους, ἱππεῖς δ' οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν τρισχιλίων.

85. Ἀμφοτέρων δὲ προθύμως συγκαταβάντων[6] εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ἀγῶνα, καὶ διαταχθέντων

[1] See Kirchner, *Pros. Att.* no. 6339 : Ἡγήλοχον.
[2] So Capps, τῶν . . . ἐπαινουμένων Wesseling : τὸν . . . ἐπαινούμενον.
[3] So Wesseling : διακριθησομένους.
[4] So PA, Vogel : παρεσκευάζοντο *cet.*
[5] Wesseling places καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ after Ἠλεῖοι above (cp. chap. 85. 2 and Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 4. 17).
[6] προθύμως συγκαταβάντων Hertlein : συντόμως προκαταβάντων.

ever, he did not succeed in his attempt, although by 363/2 B.C.
his plan of campaign he had provided for every contingency, but, finding Fate opposed to him, contrary to his expectations he lost the victory. For just as he was approaching the unprotected city, on the opposite side of Mantineia there arrived the reinforcements sent by Athens,[1] six thousand in number with Hegesileôs[2] their general, a man at that time renowned amongst his fellow citizens. He introduced an adequate force into the city and arrayed the rest of the army in expectation of a decisive battle. And presently the Lacedaemonians and Mantineians made their appearance as well, whereat all got ready for the contest which was to decide the issue and summoned their allies from every direction. On the side of the Mantineians were the Eleians, Lacedaemonians, Athenians, and a few others, who numbered all told more than twenty thousand foot and about two thousand horse. On the side of the Tegeans the most numerous and bravest of the Arcadians were ranged as allies, also Achaeans,[3] Boeotians, Argives, some other Peloponnesians, and allies from outside, and all in all there were assembled above thirty thousand foot and not less than three thousand horse.

85. Both sides eagerly drew together for the decisive conflict,[4] their armies in battle formation, while

[1] See chap. 82. 4 and Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 5. 15.
[2] The name of the Athenian commander is given as Hegesileôs by Ephorus (Diog. Laert. 2. 54) and by Xenophon (*De Vectigalibus*, 3. 7). Hegesileôs was uncle of Eubulus and general again in the year 349/8. See critical note.
[3] Probably from Thessaly, Ἀχαιοὶ Φθιῶται, if present text is retained. See chap. 85. 2 for Achaeans of Peloponnesus.
[4] The fundamental account of the battle of Mantineia is found in Xenophon, *Hell.* 7. 5. 18-27. For references to maps and special problems see Glotz, *Hist. gr.* 3. 177, note 101.

τῶν στρατοπέδων, οἱ μὲν μάντεις[1] σφαγιασάμενοι παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἀπεφαίνοντο τὴν νίκην ὑπὸ τῶν
2 θεῶν προφαινομένην· κατὰ δὲ τὴν τάξιν[2] Μαντινεῖς μὲν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀρκάδων τὸ δεξιὸν ἐπεῖχον κέρας, ἔχοντες παραστάτας καὶ συναγωνιστὰς Λακεδαιμονίους, τούτοις δὲ συνεχεῖς ἦσαν Ἠλεῖοι καὶ Ἀχαιοί, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ καταδεέστεροι τὴν μέσην[3] ἐπεῖχον τάξιν· τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον κέρας ἀνεπλήρουν Ἀθηναῖοι. Θηβαῖοι δ' αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας ἐτάχθησαν, παραστάτας ἔχοντες Ἀρκάδας, τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν παρέδωκαν Ἀργείοις· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἀνεπλήρου τὴν μέσην τάξιν, Εὐβοεῖς καὶ Λοκροὶ καὶ Σικυώνιοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Μαλιεῖς καὶ Αἰνιᾶνες, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Θετταλοὶ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ σύμμαχοι. τοὺς δ' ἱππεῖς ἐφ' ἑκατέρων τῶν κεράτων ἀμφότεροι δι-
3 είλοντο. τῶν δὲ στρατευμάτων τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τεταγμένων, ὡς ἤδη πλησίον ὑπῆρχον ἀλλήλων, αἱ μὲν σάλπιγγες τὸ πολεμικὸν ἐσήμαινον, αἱ δὲ δυνάμεις ἠλάλαξαν καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς βοῆς τὴν νίκην ἐσήμαινον. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἱππομαχίαν ἐν τοῖς κέρασι συνεστήσαντο, καθ' ἣν ταῖς φιλο-
4 τιμίαις ἑαυτοὺς ὑπερεβάλοντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππεῖς τοῖς τῶν Θηβαίων ἐπελάσαντες ἡλαττοῦντο οὐχ οὕτω ταῖς τῶν ἵππων[4] ἀρεταῖς οὐδὲ ταῖς ἰδίαις εὐψυχίαις οὐδὲ ταῖς κατὰ τὴν ἱππικὴν ἐμπειρίαις· ἐν γὰρ τούτοις ἅπασιν οὐκ ἦν καταδεέστερον τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππικόν· τῷ δὲ πλήθει καὶ τῇ παρασκευῇ τῶν ψιλῶν[5] καὶ τῇ στρατηγικῇ συντάξει πολὺ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐλείποντο. αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν[6] ὀλίγους εἶχον ἀκοντιστάς, οἱ δὲ

[1] So Scaliger: μαντινεῖς.

the soothsayers, having sacrificed on both sides, declared that victory was foreshadowed by the gods. 363/2 B.C. In the disposition of forces the Mantineians with the rest of the Arcadians occupied the right wing with the Lacedaemonians as their neighbours and supporters, and next to these were Eleians and Achaeans; and the weaker of the remaining forces occupied the centre, while the Athenians filled the left wing. The Thebans themselves had their post on the left wing, supported by the Arcadians, while they entrusted the right to the Argives. The remaining multitude filled the middle of the line: Euboeans, Locrians, Sicyonians, Messenians, Malians, Aenianians, together with Thessalians and the remaining allies. Both sides divided the cavalry and placed contingents on each wing. Such was the array of the armaments, and now as they approached one another, the trumpets sounded the battle charge, the armies raised the battle shout, and by the very volume of their cries betokened their victory. At first they engaged in a cavalry battle on the flanks in which they outbid each other in keen rivalry. Now as the Athenian horse attacked the Theban they suffered defeat not so much because of the quality of their mounts nor yet on the score of the riders' courage or experience in horsemanship, for in none of these departments was the Athenian cavalry deficient; but it was in the numbers and equipment of the light-armed troops and in their tactical skill that they were far inferior to their opponents. Indeed they had only a few javelin-throwers,

[2] So Wurm (cp. chap. 86. 2): ἀξίαν.
[3] So Capps (cp. chap. 85. 2 below): λοιπὴν.
[4] So Schäfer: ἱππέων. [5] So Wesseling: φίλων.
[6] οὖν A, omitted by *cet.*

Θηβαῖοι τριπλασίους σφενδονήτας καὶ ἀκοντιστὰς
τοὺς ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὴν Θετταλίαν τόπων ἀπεσταλ-
5 μένους. οὗτοι περιττότερον ἐκ παίδων ζηλοῦντες
τὴν ἐν τούτοις μάχην, μεγάλην ῥοπὴν ποιεῖν εἰώ-
θεισαν[1] ἐν ταῖς μάχαις διὰ τὴν ἐν τούτοις ἐμπειρίαν.
διόπερ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κατατιτρωσκόμενοι μὲν ὑπὸ
τῶν[2] ψιλικῶν, καταπονούμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθε-
6 στηκότων, ἅπαντες ἐτράπησαν. τὴν δὲ φυγὴν
ἐκτὸς τῶν κεράτων ποιησάμενοι διωρθώσαντο τὴν
ἧτταν· ἅμα μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν οὐκ
ἐτάραξαν τὴν ἰδίαν φάλαγγα, ἅμα δὲ περιπεσόντες
Εὐβοεῦσι καὶ μισθοφόροις τισὶν ἀπεσταλμένοις ἐπὶ
τὴν κατάληψιν τῶν πλησίον λόφων, συνάψαντες
7 αὐτοῖς μάχην ἅπαντας ἀπέκτειναν. οἱ δὲ τῶν
Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς τοὺς μὲν φεύγοντας οὐκ ἐπεδίωξαν,
ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων ἐπελά-
σαντες ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο παραλλάξαι τοὺς πεζούς.
ἰσχυρᾶς δὲ μάχης γενομένης, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
καταπονουμένων καὶ πρὸς φυγὴν ὁρμησάντων, ὁ
τῶν Ἠλείων ἵππαρχος ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας τεταγ-
μένος ἐπεβοήθησε τοῖς φεύγουσι, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν
Βοιωτῶν καταβαλὼν παλίντροπον ἐποίησε τὴν μά-
8 χην. οἱ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἠλείων ἱππεῖς τοῦτον τὸν
τρόπον ἐπιφανέντες τῷ λαιῷ κέρατι τὸ γεγονὸς
περὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐλάττωμα διωρθώσαντο· ἐπὶ
δὲ θατέρου κέρατος ἐπιρραξάντων ἀλλήλοις τῶν
ἱππέων βραχὺν χρόνον ἡ μάχη διέμεινεν ἰσόρροπος,
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διά τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν
τῶν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θετταλῶν ἱππέων οἱ μετὰ τῶν
Μαντινέων ὄντες ἐβιάσθησαν, καὶ συχνοὺς ἀπο-
βαλόντες κατέφυγον πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν φάλαγγα.

86. Ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἱππέων

whereas the Thebans had three times as many slingers 363/2 B.C.
and javelin-throwers sent them from the regions about Thessaly. These people practised from boyhood assiduously this type of fighting and consequently were wont to exercise great weight in battles because of their experience in handling these missiles. Consequently the Athenians, who were continually being wounded by the light-armed and were harried to exhaustion by the opponents who confronted them, all turned and fled. But having fled beyond the flanks, they managed to retrieve their defeat, for even in their retreat they did not break their own phalanx, and encountering simultaneously the Euboeans and certain mercenaries who had been dispatched to seize the heights near by, they gave battle and slew them all. Now the Theban horse did not follow up the fugitives, but, assailing the phalanx opposing them, strove zealously to outflank the infantry. The battle was a hot one; the Athenians were exhausted and had turned to flee, when the Eleian cavalry-commander, assigned to the rear, came to the aid of the fugitives and, by striking down many Boeotians, reversed the course of the battle. So while the Eleian cavalry by their appearance in this fashion on the left wing retrieved the defeat their allies had sustained, on the other flank both cavalry forces lashed at one another and the battle hung for a short time in the balance, but then, because of the number and valour of the Boeotian and Thessalian horsemen, the contingents on the Mantineian side were forced back, and with considerable loss took refuge with their own phalanx.

86. Now the cavalry battle had the foregoing issue.

[1] So Dindorf: εἰώθασιν. [2] τῶν added by Reiske.

μάχῃ τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τὸ τέλος· αἱ δὲ πεζαὶ[1] δυνάμεις ὡς συνῆλθον εἰς χεῖρας τοῖς πολεμίοις, μεγάλους καὶ θαυμαστοὺς ἀγῶνας συνεστήσαντο. οὐδέποτε γὰρ Ἑλλήνων πρὸς Ἕλληνας ἀγωνιζομένων οὔτε πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν τοσοῦτο παρετάξατο οὔθ' ἡγεμόνες ἀξιολογώτεροι τοῖς ἀξιώμασιν οὔτε ἄνδρες δυνατώτεροι τὰς ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἀνδραγαθίας[2] ἐπεδεί-
2 ξαντο. οἱ γὰρ πεζομαχεῖν ἄριστα δυνάμενοι κατὰ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καιρούς, Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ τὴν τάξιν ἀνθεστηκότες πρῶτον μάχην συνῆψαν, οὐδεμίαν φειδὼ ποιούμενοι τοῦ ζῆν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τύπτοντες ἀλλήλους τοῖς δόρασι, καὶ διὰ τὴν πυκνότητα τῶν πληγῶν τὰ πλεῖστα συντρίψαντες, εἰς τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς μαχαίρας
3 ἀγῶνα κατήντησαν. συμπλεκόμενοι δὲ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ παντοίας διαθέσεις τραυμάτων ἀπεργαζόμενοι τοῖς θυμοῖς οὐκ ἔληγον· ἐπὶ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐγκαρτερούντων διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς παρ' ἑκατέροις ἀνδραγαθίας οὐδεμίαν ῥοπὴν ἐλάμβανεν[3] ἡ μάχη. ἕκαστος γὰρ τοῦ παθεῖν τι δεινὸν καταφρονῶν, τοῦ δὲ δρᾶσαί τι λαμπρὸν ἐφιέμενος, εὐγενῶς ἀνεδέχετο τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς δόξης θάνατον.
4 ἰσχυρᾶς δὲ μάχης ἐπὶ πολύν τε χρόνον γινομένης καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου μηδεμίαν ῥοπὴν λαμβάνοντος, ὁ μὲν Ἐπαμεινώνδας ὑπολαβὼν τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς προσδεῖσθαι τὴν νίκην, ἔγνω δι' ἑαυτοῦ κρῖναι τὸν κίνδυνον. εὐθὺς οὖν ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ μετὰ τούτων συμφράξας, εἰσέβαλεν εἰς μέσους τοὺς πολεμίους· καθηγούμενος δὲ τοῦ συντάγματος, καὶ πρῶτος ἀκοντίσας, ἔβαλε τὸν ἡγούμενον τῶν Λα-
5 κεδαιμονίων. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς χεῖρας ἐρχομένων, οὓς μὲν ἀνελών, οὓς δὲ καταπληξά-

But when the infantry forces closed with the enemy in hand-to-hand combat, a mighty, stupendous struggle ensued. For never at any other time when Greeks fought Greeks was such a multitude of men arrayed, nor did generals of greater repute or men more competent ever display such gallantry in battle. For the most capable foot-soldiers of that time, Boeotians and Lacedaemonians, whose lines were drawn up facing one another, began the contest, exposing their lives to every risk. After the first exchange of spears in which most were shattered by the very density of the missiles, they engaged with swords. And although their bodies were all locked with one another and they were inflicting all manner of wounds, yet they did not leave off; and for a long time as they persisted in their terrible work, because of the superlative courage displayed on each side, the battle hung poised. For each man, disregarding the risk of personal hurt, but desirous rather of performing some brilliant deed, would nobly accept death as the price of glory. As the battle raged severely for a long time and the conflict took no turn in favour of either side, Epameinondas, conceiving that victory called for the display of his own valour also, decided to be himself the instrument to decide the issue. So he immediately took his best men, grouped them in close formation and charged into the midst of the enemy; he led his battalion in the charge and was the first to hurl his javelin, and hit the commander of the Lacedaemonians. Then, as the rest of his men also came immediately into close quarters with the foe, he slew some, threw others into 363/2 B.C.

[1] So Dindorf: πεζικαί.
[2] τὰς . . . ἀνδραγαθίας Wesseling (cp. chap. 65. 3): ταῖς . . . ἀνδραγαθίαις.
[3] So Wesseling: ἀνελάμβανεν.

μενος, διέκοψε τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν πολεμίων. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδου καὶ τὸ βάρος τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν συστήματος καταπλαγέντες ἀνεχώρουν ἐκ τῆς μάχης· ἐπικειμένων δὲ τῶν Βοιωτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους αἰεὶ φονευόντων, νεκρῶν ἐσωρεύθη πλῆθος.

87. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι θεωροῦντες Ἐπαμεινώνδαν προθυμότερον προπίπτοντα[1] τῷ θυμῷ, συνέδραμον ἐπ' αὐτόν. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ πυκνῶν φερομένων βελῶν, τὰ μὲν ἐξένευε, τὰ δὲ διεκρούετο, τινὰ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἐξαιρῶν τούτοις ἠμύνετο τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους. ἡρωικῶς δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης ἀγωνισάμενος καιρίαν ἔλαβε πληγὴν εἰς τὸν θώρακα. κλασθέντος δὲ τοῦ δόρατος, καὶ τοῦ σιδήρου καταλειφθέντος ἐν τῷ σώματι, παραχρῆμα ἔπεσε κατισχυθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς. περὶ δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἐμπεσούσης φιλοτιμίας, καὶ πολλῶν παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἀναιρεθέντων, μόγις οἱ Θηβαῖοι τῇ ῥώμῃ
τῶν σωμάτων προέχοντες κατεπόνησαν τοὺς Λακε-
2 δαιμονίους. φυγῆς δὲ γενομένης, οἱ μὲν Βοιωτοὶ
βραχὺν ἐπιδιώξαντες χρόνον ἀνέστρεψαν, ἀναγκαιό-
τατον ἡγούμενοι τὸ κυριεῦσαι τῶν νεκρῶν. ἀνα-
καλεσαμένων οὖν τῶν σαλπιγκτῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας,
ἅπαντες τῆς μάχης ἀπέστησαν, καὶ τρόπαιον ἀμφό-
3 τεροι στήσαντες ἠμφεσβήτουν[2] τῆς νίκης. οἱ μὲν
γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι νενικηκότες τοὺς περὶ τὸν λόφον
Εὐβοεῖς καὶ μισθοφόρους κύριοι τῶν νεκρῶν ὑπῆρ-
χον, οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπὸ κρά-
τους ἡττηκότες καὶ κρατοῦντες τῶν πεπτωκότων
4 προσένεμον ἑαυτοῖς τὴν νίκην. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν χρόνον
τινὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναιρέσεως οὐδέτεροι

a panic, and broke through the enemy phalanx. The Lacedaemonians, overawed by the prestige of Epameinondas and by the sheer weight of the contingent he led, withdrew from the battle, but the Boeotians kept pressing the attack and continually slaying any men who were in the rear rank, so that a multitude of corpses was piled up. 363/2 B.C.

87. As for the Lacedaemonians, when they saw that Epameinondas in the fury of battle was pressing forward too eagerly, they charged him in a body. As the missiles flew thick and fast about him, he dodged some, others he fended off, still others he pulled from his body and used to ward off his attackers. But while struggling heroically for the victory, he received a mortal wound in the chest. As the spear broke and the iron point was left in his body, he fell of a sudden, his strength sapped by the wound. About his body a rivalry ensued in which many were slain on both sides, but at last with difficulty by their superiority in bodily strength, the Thebans wore the Lacedaemonians out. As the latter turned and fled, the Boeotians pursued for a short time but turned back, considering it most essential to take possession of the bodies of the dead. So, when the trumpeters sounded recall for their men, all withdrew from battle and both sides set up trophies claiming the victory. In fact the Athenians had defeated the Euboeans and mercenaries in the battle for the heights and were in possession of the dead; while the Boeotians, because they had overpowered the Lacedaemonians and were in possession of the dead, were for awarding the victory to themselves. So for a long time neither side sent envoys to recover its dead,

[1] So Wesseling (cp. chap. 65. 1): προσπίπτοντα.
[2] ἀμφεσβήτουν PA, ἠμφισβήτουν cet.

διεπρεσβεύσαντο, ἵνα μὴ δόξωσιν ἐκχωρεῖν τοῦ πρωτείου· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πρώτων ἐπικηρυκευσαμένων περὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν
5 ἀναιρέσεως ἀμφότεροι τοὺς ἰδίους ἔθαψαν. Ἐπαμεινώνδας δ' ἔτι ζῶν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἀπηνέχθη, καὶ τῶν συγκληθέντων ἰατρῶν ἀποφηναμένων, ὅτι πάντως, ὅταν ἐκ τοῦ θώρακος ἐξαιρεθῇ τὸ δόρυ, συμβήσεται καὶ τὸν θάνατον ἐπακολουθῆσαι, εὐψυχότατα τὴν[1] τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν ἐποιήσατο.
6 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὸν ὑπασπιστὴν προσκαλεσάμενος ἐπηρώτησεν εἰ διασέσωκε τὴν ἀσπίδα. τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος καὶ θέντος αὐτὴν πρὸ τῆς ὁράσεως, πάλιν ἐπηρώτησε πότεροι νενικήκασιν. ἀποφαινομένου δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς ὅτι Βοιωτοὶ νενικήκασιν, Ὥρα, φησίν, ἐστὶ τελευτᾶν, καὶ προσέταξεν ἐκσπάσαι τὸ δόρυ. ἀναβοησάντων δὲ τῶν παρόντων φίλων, καί τινος εἰπόντος ὅτι Τελευτᾷς ἄτεκνος, Ἐπαμεινώνδα, καὶ δακρύσαντος, Μὰ Δία μέν, φησίν, ἀλλὰ καταλείπω δύο θυγατέρας, τήν τε ἐν Λεύκτροις νίκην καὶ τὴν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ. καὶ τοῦ δόρατος ἐξαιρεθέντος ἄνευ πάσης ταραχῆς ἐξέπνευσεν.

88. Ἡμεῖς δ' εἰωθότες ταῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν τελευταῖς ἐπιλέγειν τὸν ἴδιον ἔπαινον, οὐδαμῶς ἁρμόττον ἡγούμεθα παραδραμεῖν ἀνδρὸς τηλικούτου τὴν τελευτὴν ἀνεπισήμαντον. δοκεῖ γάρ μοι μὴ μόνον τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑπερβάλλειν ἐν τῇ στρατηγικῇ συνέσει καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις
2 ἐπιεικείᾳ τε καὶ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν τούτου γεγόνασιν ἄνδρες ἐπιφανεῖς Πελοπίδας τε Θηβαῖος[2] καὶ Τιμόθεος καὶ Κόνων,

[1] εὐψυχότατα τὴν Cobet : εὐψυχοτάτην.
[2] So PAL : Θηβαῖος ἔτι δὲ *cet.*

in order that it should not appear to yield the primacy; 368 B.C.
but later, when the Lacedaemonians were the first to have sent a herald to ask for the recovery of their dead, each side buried its own. Epameinondas, however, was carried back to camp still living, and the physicians were summoned, but when they declared that undoubtedly as soon as the spear-point should be drawn from his chest, death would ensue, with supreme courage he met his end. For first summoning his armour-bearer he asked him if he had saved his shield. On his replying yes and placing it before his eyes, he again asked, which side was victorious. At the boy's answer that the Boeotians were victorious, he said, "It is time to die," and directed them to withdraw the spear point. His friends present cried out in protest, and one of them said: "You die childless, Epameinondas," and burst into tears. To this he replied, "No, by Zeus, on the contrary I leave behind two daughters, Leuctra and Mantineia, my victories."[1] Then when the spear point was withdrawn, without any commotion he breathed his last.

88. For us who are wont to accord to the demise of great men the appropriate meed of praise, it would be most unfitting, so we think, to pass by the death of a man of such stature with no word of note. For it seems to me that he surpassed his contemporaries not only in skill and experience in the art of war, but in reasonableness and magnanimity as well. For among the generation of Epameinondas were famous men: Pelopidas the Theban, Timotheüs and Conon,

[1] Had Λεῦκτρα not been a neuter plural, the Greek would have permitted the more effective turn of phrase available in English. Cp. Philip of Macedon's daughter, Thessalonikê, "Victory in Thessaly."

ἔτι δὲ Χαβρίας τε καὶ Ἰφικράτης οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἀγησίλαος ὁ Σπαρτιάτης, βραχὺ τοῖς χρόνοις προτερῶν[1]· ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ[2] χρόνοις, ἐπὶ τῶν Μηδικῶν καὶ Περσικῶν καιρῶν, Σόλων καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς καὶ Μιλτιάδης, ἔτι δὲ Κίμων καὶ Μυρωνίδης καὶ Περικλῆς καί τινες ἕτεροι παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν Γέλων ὁ
3 Δεινομένους καί τινες ἕτεροι. ἀλλ' ὅμως εἴ τις συγκρίναι τὰς τούτων ἀρετὰς τῇ Ἐπαμεινώνδου στρατηγίᾳ τε καὶ δόξῃ, πολὺ ἂν προέχουσαν εὕροι τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἀρετήν. παρὰ μὲν γὰρ ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἓν ἂν εὕροι προτέρημα τῆς δόξης, παρὰ δὲ τούτῳ πάσας τὰς ἀρετὰς ἠθροισμένας. καὶ γὰρ ῥώμῃ σώματος καὶ λόγου δεινότητι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ψυχῆς λαμπρότητι καὶ μισαργυρίᾳ καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ στρατηγικῇ συνέσει πολὺ διήνεγκε πάντων.
4 τοιγαροῦν ἡ πατρὶς αὐτοῦ ζῶντος μὲν ἐκτήσατο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τελευτήσαντος δὲ ταύτης ἐστερήθη καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἀεὶ μεταβολῆς ἐπειράθη, καὶ πέρας διὰ τὴν ἀφροσύνην τῶν ἡγουμένων ἀνδραποδισμοῦ καὶ κατασκαφῆς ἔλαβε πεῖραν. Ἐπαμεινώνδας μὲν οὖν παρὰ πᾶσι περιβόητον ἔχων τὴν ἀρετήν, τοιαύτης ἔτυχε καταστροφῆς τοῦ βίου.

89. Οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀμφισβητουμένην ἔχοντες τὴν νίκην καὶ ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις ἐφάμιλλοι καθεστῶτες, ἔτι δὲ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῶν κινδύνων καταπονούμενοι, διελύσαντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους. συνθέμενοι δὲ κοινὴν εἰρήνην καὶ συμμαχίαν, κατέταττον ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους.
2 οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τούτους ἀκατάλ-

also Chabrias and Iphicrates, Athenians all, and, besides, Agesilaüs the Spartan, who belonged to a slightly older generation. Still earlier than these, in the times of the Medes and Persians, there were Solon, Themistocles, Miltiades, and Cimon, Myronides, and Pericles and certain others in Athens, and in Sicily Gelon, son of Deinomenes, and still others. All the same, if you should compare the qualities of these with the generalship and reputation of Epameinondas, you would find the qualities possessed by Epameinondas far superior. For in each of the others you would discover but one particular superiority as a claim to fame; in him, however, all qualities combined. For in strength of body and eloquence of speech, furthermore in elevation of mind, contempt of lucre, fairness, and, most of all, in courage and shrewdness in the art of war, he far surpassed them all. So it was that in his lifetime his native country acquired the primacy of Hellas, but when he died lost it and constantly suffered change for the worse and finally, because of the folly of its leaders, experienced slavery and devastation. So Epameinondas, whose valour was approved among all men, in the manner we have shown met his death. 363/2 B.C.

89. The states of Greece after the battle, since the victory credited to them all was in dispute and they had proved to be evenly matched in the matter of valour, and, furthermore, were now exhausted by the unbroken series of battles, came to terms with one another. When they had agreed upon a general peace and alliance, they sought to include the Messenians in the compact. But the Lacedaemonians, because

[1] So Dindorf: πρότερον.
[2] So Dindorf: τούτου.

λακτον ἀλλοτριότητα τῶν σπονδῶν οὐ προείλοντο κοινωνεῖν[1] καὶ μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπῆρχον ἔκσπονδοι.

3 Τῶν δὲ συγγραφέων Ξενοφῶν μὲν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος τὴν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν σύνταξιν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν κατέστροφεν[2] ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐπαμεινώνδου τελευτήν· Ἀναξιμένης δὲ ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς τὴν πρώτην τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἀνέγραψεν ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ θεογονίας καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κατέστροφε δ' εἰς τὴν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ μάχην καὶ τὴν Ἐπαμεινώνδου τελευτήν· περιέλαβε δὲ πάσας σχεδὸν τάς τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων πράξεις ἐν βύβλοις δώδεκα. Φίλιστος δὲ τὰ περὶ Διονύσιον τὸν νεώτερον ὧδε κατέστροφε, διελθὼν ἔτη πέντε ἐν βύβλοις δυσίν.

90. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Μόλωνος ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατεστάθησαν ὕπατοι Λεύκιος Γενούκιος καὶ Κόιντος Σερουίλιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων οἱ τὴν παράλιον οἰκοῦντες τῆς Ἀσίας ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Περσῶν, καί τινες τῶν σατραπῶν καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐπαναστάντες
2 πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκαν πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην. ὁμοίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ Ταχὼς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων κρίνας πολεμεῖν τοῖς Πέρσαις, ναῦς τε κατεσκεύασε καὶ πεζὰς[3] δυνάμεις ἤθροισεν. πολλοὺς δὲ ξενο-

[1] After κοινωνεῖν Bekker deletes διὰ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους.
[2] So Stephanus: κατέστρεφεν.
[3] πεζικὰς MSS.

[1] See chap. 94. 1; Plutarch, *Agesilaüs*, 35; Polybius, 4. 33. 8-9.
[2] The *Hellenica*.
[3] Anaximenes (*c.* 380–320 B.C.) was a student under Zoïlus and Diogenes and later a teacher. He accompanied Alexander the Great. This work had the title πρῶται ἱστορίαι (Athenaeus, 6. 231 c) or πρώτη Ἑλληνικῶν (Harpocration, *s.v.* Ἀμφικτύονες). Other works were Φιλιππικά and τὰ περὶ Ἀλέξ-

of the irreconcilable quarrel with them, chose not to be parties to the truce and alone of the Greeks remained out of it.[1] 363/2 B.C.

Among the historians Xenophon the Athenian brings the narrative of "Greek Affairs"[2] down into this year, closing it with the death of Epameinondas, while Anaximenes of Lampsacus, who composed the "First Inquiry of Greek Affairs"[3] beginning with the birth of the gods and the first generation of man, closed it with the battle of Mantineia and the death of Epameinondas. He included practically all the doings of the Greeks and non-Greeks in twelve volumes. And Philistus[4] brought his history of Dionysius the Younger down to this year, narrating the events of five years in two volumes.

90. When Molon was archon at Athens, in Rome there were elected as consuls Lucius Genucius and Quintus Servilius. During their term of office the inhabitants of the Asiatic coast revolted from Persia, and some of the satraps and generals rising in insurrection made war on Artaxerxes.[5] At the same time Tachôs the Egyptian king decided to fight the Persians and prepared ships and gathered infantry forces.[6] 362/1 B.C.

ανδρον. (See Christ-Schmidt[6], *Gr. Litt.* 534.) See chap. 76. 4.

[4] Philistus, besides an earlier work, wrote a History of Sicily from the fall of Acragas (406/5) to the death of the elder Dionysius (367/6) in four books (see Book 13. 103. 3). This work on Dionysius the Younger was much read down to Cicero's time but has come to us in very few fragments: *FHG*, 1. 185; 4. 639 (see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], 3. 2. 42).

[5] This was the Satraps' Revolt. See Tarn, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 20-21; Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, 411 ff.

[6] For the earlier Persian expedition against Egypt see chaps. 29, 41-43.

λογήσας ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἔπεισε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους συμμαχεῖν· οἱ γὰρ Σπαρτιᾶται πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην ἀλλοτρίως εἶχον διὰ τὸ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τὴν κοινὴν εἰρήνην κατατετάχθαι. τηλικαύτης δὲ συνδρομῆς κατὰ τῶν Περσῶν γενομένης, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς παρεσκευάζετο τὰ πρὸς τὸν
3 πόλεμον. ὑπὸ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἔδει πρός τε τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα πολεμεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὰς[1] κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς τούτων συμμάχους, σατράπας καὶ στρατηγοὺς τοὺς ἄρχοντας μὲν τῶν παραθαλαττίων τόπων, συντεθειμένους δὲ κοινοπραγίαν· ὧν ἦσαν ἐπιφανέστατοι Ἀριοβαρζάνης μὲν ὁ τῆς Φρυγίας σατράπης, ὃς καὶ Μιθριδάτου τελευτήσαντος τῆς

[1] τὰς πρὸς τὰς PA ; τὰς πρὸς FK, Vogel deletes πρὸς, πρὸς τὰς Dindorf, Bekker.

Having procured many mercenaries from the Greek cities, he persuaded the Lacedaemonians likewise to fight with him, for the Spartans were estranged from Artaxerxes because the Messenians had been included by the King on the same terms as the other Greeks in the general peace. When the general uprising against the Persians reached such large proportions, the King also began making preparations for the war. For at one and the same time he must needs fight the Egyptian king, the Greek cities of Asia, the Lacedaemonians and the allies of these,—satraps and generals who ruled the coastal districts and had agreed upon making common cause with them. Of these the most distinguished were Ariobarzanes,[1] satrap of Phrygia, who at the death of Mithridates had taken 362/1 B.C.

[1] The difficulties with the identification of Ariobarzanes and Mithridates hinge on the following facts: (1) Ariobarzanes in 407 was subordinate to Pharnabazus, satrap of Dascyleion (Xenophon, *Hell.* 1. 4. 7). (2) Ariobarzanes about 387 succeeded Pharnabazus in the satrapy of Dascyleion when Pharnabazus was summoned to the court to marry the daughter of Artaxerxes (Xenophon, *op. cit.* 5. 1. 28). (3) Ariobarzanes refused to give up his throne to Pharnabazus' son, Artabazus (chap. 91. 2), by the King's daughter when Artabazus grew up, and so became ringleader of the Satraps' Revolt. (Cp. Nepos, *Datames*, 2. 5; Trogus, *Prol.* 10; Demosthenes, 15. 9; Isocrates, 15. 111 ff.; Nepos, *Timotheüs*, 1. 2, 3.) (4) Ariobarzanes was betrayed by his son Mithridates, sent up to court and crucified about 362. (See Harpocration; Xenophon, *Education of Cyrus*, 8. 8. 4; Aristotle, *Politics*, 5. 1312 a, and Valerius Maximus, 9. 11, ext. 2.) (5) Ariobarzanes (this passage) succeeded Mithridates in the kingship (*sc.* of Pontus). (6) Ariobarzanes died (Book 16. 90. 2) in 337/6 after ruling (*sc.* in Pontus) for twenty-six years (fits with this passage) and was succeeded by Mithridates. Note that Harpocration alone speaks of the crucifixion of Ariobarzanes. The mention by Aristotle of the attack on Ariobarzanes by Mithridates is tentatively placed in the year 337/6 by Rackham, *L.C.L.* 450. Since Xenophon mentions the murder in the *Education of Cyrus* in juxtaposition with Rheomithres and Tachôs, it seems probable that the death of Ariobarzanes is to be placed in 362 and not in 337/6 when Xenophon was probably dead and the *Education of Cyrus* was almost certainly finished. One must therefore agree with Judeich (P.-W. *Realencyclopädie, s.v.* "Ariobarzanes") that numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4 refer to the same man, a different Ariobarzanes from numbers 5 and 6. Beloch (*Griechische Geschichte*[2], 3. 2. § 60) comes to this conclusion and says that Diodorus is here mistaken in stating that Ariobarzanes takes over the throne from Mithridates. If this is Mithridates I of Pontus, he is succeeded by his son Ariobarzanes who is most likely the nephew of the satrap Ariobarzanes in question here. The nephew Ariobarzanes, probably known as Ariobarzanes of Cios (and Arrhinê (?), cp. Book 20. 111. 4), is succeeded by his son Mithridates II. The uncle, the revolting satrap, also had a son Mithridates who betrayed him and caused his death.

τούτου βασιλείας κεκυριευκὼς ἦν, Μαύσωλος δὲ Καρίας δυναστεύων καὶ πολλῶν ἐρυμάτων καὶ πόλεων ἀξιολόγων κυριεύων ὧν ἑστίαν καὶ μητρόπολιν συνέβαινεν εἶναι τὴν Ἁλικαρνασσόν, ἔχουσαν ἀκρόπολιν ἀξιόλογον καὶ τὰ τῆς Καρίας βασίλεια· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ὀρόντης μὲν τῆς Μυσίας σατράπης, Αὐτοφραδάτης δὲ Λυδίας· τῶν δὲ Ἰώνων ἄνευ[1] Λύκιοί τε καὶ Πισίδαι καὶ Παμφύλιοι καὶ Κίλικες, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Σύροι καὶ Φοίνικες καὶ σχεδὸν
4 πάντες οἱ παραθαλάσσιοι. τηλικαύτης δ' οὔσης ἀποστάσεως, τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ τῶν προσόδων τῷ βασιλεῖ κατελέλυτο, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν οὐχ ἱκανὸν ἦν εἰς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρείας.

91. Οἱ δ' ἀφεστηκότες τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων διοίκησιν εἵλοντο στρατηγὸν Ὀρόντην. οὗτος δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ χρήματα πρὸς ξενολογίαν, δισμυρίοις στρατιώταις ἐνιαύσιον μισθόν, ἐγένετο προδότης τῶν πιστευσάντων. ὑπολαβὼν γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δωρεῶν τε μεγάλων τεύξεσθαι καὶ τῆς παραθαλασσίου πάσης παραλήψεσθαι τὴν σατραπείαν, ἐὰν ἐγχειρίσῃ τοῖς Πέρσαις

[1] ἄνευ added by Capps; οἱ πολλοὶ added by Urlichs; μετὰ δὲ τῶν Ἰ. or τῶν δ' Ἰώνων σύμμαχοι suggested by Wesseling; τῶν δ' ἐθνῶν Dindorf; πλὴν δὲ Ἰώνων Vogel.

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[1] Mausolus, son of Hecatomnus of Mylasa who became "dynast of Caria" about 390, succeeded his father about 377/6 (see Book 16. 36. 2) and married his sister Artemisia, who succeeded him (Book 16. 36. 2; 45. 7). At first opposed to Ariobarzanes, he later joined in the revolt against the King. The monument erected to him by his widow is famous as the Mausoleum.

[2] Orontes was the son of Artasuras and husband of Rhodogunê, daughter of the King (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 2. 4. 8; 3. 4. 13; Plutarch, *Artaxerxes*, 27. 4). Though satrap of

possession of his kingdom, and Mausolus,[1] overlord of 362/1 B.C.
Caria, who was master of many strongholds and important cities of which the hearth and mother city was Halicarnassus, which possessed a famous acropolis and the royal palace of Caria; and, in addition to the two already mentioned, Orontes,[2] satrap of Mysia, and Autophradates,[3] satrap of Lydia. Apart from the Ionians were Lycians, Pisidians, Pamphylians, and Cilicians, likewise Syrians, Phoenicians, and practically all the coastal peoples. With the revolt so extensive, half the revenues of the King were cut off and what remained were insufficient for the expenses of the war.

91. The peoples who had revolted from the King chose as their general Orontes in charge of all branches of the administration. He, having taken over the command and funds needed for recruiting mercenaries, amounting to a year's pay for twenty thousand men, proceeded to betray his trust. For suspecting that he would obtain from the King not only great rewards but would also succeed to the satrapy of all the coastal region if he should deliver the rebels into

Armenia in 401 (Xenophon, *op. cit.* 3. 5. 17; 4. 3. 4), he had by this time probably lost Armenia (in spite of Trogus, *Prol.* 10) and was satrap of Mysia only, but hoped, as Diodorus says, to acquire the satrapy of all the coast cities (*i.e.* satrapy of Sardes) now under control of Autophradates, by his betrayal of the insurrection to the King. Since Autophradates also returned to his allegiance, his aims were frustrated only to be revived in 355. He probably died about 344. (See Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², 3. 2. 138-140; and *supra*, chap. 2. 2.)

[3] Autophradates was probably satrap of Sardes in 392, then of the coastal cities only in 388, and later, after the death of Tiribazus, again re-established in Sardes until his death. (See for an account of him Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², 3. 2. 135-136.)

τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς κομίσαντας τὰ χρήματα συνέλαβε καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταξέρξην ἀπέστειλε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολλὰς τῶν πόλεων καὶ τοὺς ξενολογηθέντας στρατιώτας τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασι-
2 λέως πεμφθεῖσιν ἡγεμόσι παρέδωκεν. ὁμοίως δὲ τούτῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἐγένετο προδοσία, καθ' ἣν ἴδιόν τι καὶ παράδοξον συνέβη γενέσθαι. Ἀρταβάζου γὰρ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγοῦ μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐμβαλόντος εἰς τὴν Καππαδοκίαν, ὁ μὲν ταύτης τῆς χώρας σατράπης Δατάμης ἀντεστρατοπέδευσεν αὐτῷ, πολλοὺς μὲν ἱππεῖς ἠθροικὼς δισμυρίους δὲ πεζοὺς μισθοφόρους
3 ἔχων αὐτῷ[1] συστρατεύοντας· ὁ δὲ κηδεστὴς τοῦ Δατάμου τῶν ἱππέων ἀφηγούμενος, χάριν βουλόμενος καταθέσθαι καὶ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας ἅμα προνοούμενος, ἀποστὰς νυκτὸς μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων ἀπήλαυνε πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, συντεθειμένος πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον τῇ πρότερον ἡμέρᾳ περὶ τῆς προδοσίας.
4 Δατάμης δὲ παρακαλέσας τοὺς μισθοφόρους καὶ δωρεὰς ὑποσχόμενος, ἀνέζευξε πρὸς τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας. καταλαβὼν δ' αὐτοὺς ἤδη συνάπτοντας τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ αὐτὸς προσπεσὼν ἅμα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀρτάβαζον καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, ἔκτεινε
5 τοὺς εἰς χεῖρας ἐρχομένους. ὁ δ' Ἀρτάβαζος, τὸ

[1] PAL omit αὐτῷ.

[1] Artabazus was the son of Pharnabazus (note 1, p. 202) and Apamê, daughter of Artaxerxes (Plutarch, *Artaxerxes*, 27. 4; Xenophon, *Hell.* 5. 1. 28), born about 387 or later. He married the sister of Memnon and Mentor (Book 16. 52.

the hands of the Persians, he first arrested those who brought the money and dispatched them to Artaxerxes; then afterward he delivered many of the cities and the soldiers who had been hired to the commanding officers who had been sent by the King. In a similar manner, betrayal occurred also in Cappadocia, where a strange and unexpected thing took place. Artabazus,[1] the King's general, had invaded Cappadocia with a large army, and Datames,[2] the satrap of the country, had taken the field against him, for he had collected many horsemen and had twenty thousand mercenary foot-soldiers serving with him. But the father-in-law of Datames, who commanded the cavalry, wishing to acquire favour and at the same time having an eye to his own safety, deserted at night and rode off with the cavalry to the enemy, having the day before made arrangements with Artabazus for the betrayal. Datames then summoned his mercenaries, promised them largess, and launched an attack upon the deserters. Finding them on the point of joining forces with the enemy and himself attacking at the same time Artabazus' guard and the horsemen, he slew all who came to close quarters. 362/1 B.C.

4) about 362. For his history see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], 3 2. 147-149.

[2] Datames was the son of Camisares who ruled over part of Cappadocia (see Life by Nepos). He was probably leader of an offensive of the satraps at the time of Tachôs' invasion of Syria (see Polyaenus, 7. 21. 3). It was probably in the summer of 359 that Artabazus invaded Cappadocia, and at the latest in the following winter that Datames was murdered by Ariobarzanes' son Mithridates (Nepos, *Datames*, 10-11; Polyaenus, 7. 29. 1). For a longer account see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], 3. 2. 254-257; also Tarn, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 20-21; Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, 411 ff.

μὲν πρῶτον τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀγνοῶν, ὑπολαβὼν δὲ τὸν
ἀποστάτην τοῦ Δατάμου[1] παλιμπροδοσίαν[2] ποιεῖ-
σθαι, παρήγγειλε τοῖς ἰδίοις κτείνειν τοὺς προσ-
ιόντας ἱππεῖς. ὁ δὲ Μιθροβαρζάνης ἐν μέσοις
ἀποληφθεὶς καὶ τῶν μὲν ὡς προδότην ἀμυνομέ-
νων τῶν δὲ ὡς παλιμπροδότην[3] τιμωρουμένων, ἐν
ἀπορίᾳ καθειστήκει· τῆς δ' ἀπορίας οὐκ ἐώσης
βουλεύσασθαι, πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτρέπετο, καὶ πρὸς ἀμ-
φοτέρους διαμαχόμενος πολὺν ἐποίει φόνον. τέλος
δὲ πλειόνων ἢ μυρίων ἀναιρεθέντων, τοὺς ὑπο-
λειφθέντας ὁ Δατάμης τρεψάμενος καὶ πολλοὺς
φονεύσας ἀνεκαλέσατο τῇ σάλπιγγι τοὺς διώκοντας
6 στρατιώτας. τῶν δ' ἱππέων τῶν ὑπολειφθέντων
οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὸν Δατάμην ἀποχωρήσαντες ἠξίουν
τυχεῖν συγγνώμης, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἦγον,
οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅποι τράπωνται, καὶ τέλος εἰς πεντα-
κοσίους ὄντες κυκλωθέντες ὑπὸ Δατάμου κατ-
7 ηκοντίσθησαν. Δατάμης μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ
στρατηγίᾳ θαυμαζόμενος, πολλῷ τότε[4] μᾶλλον ἔσχε
περιβόητον τήν τε ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ στρα-
τηγεῖν σύνεσιν· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἀρταξέρξης πυθό-
μενος τὴν στρατηγίαν τοῦ Δατάμου, καὶ σπεύδων
ἄρασθαι τοῦτον, δι' ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτὸν ἐδολοφόνησεν.

92. Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Ῥεομίθρης,[5] ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστατῶν πεμφθεὶς εἰς Αἴγυπτον πρὸς Ταχὼ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ λαβὼν ἀργυρίου μὲν τά-

[1] Schäfer deletes πρῶτον after Δατάμου. Post suggests πρότερον ὄντα. [2] So Reiske: πάλιν προδοσίαν.
[3] παλιμπροδότην] πάλιν προδότην PALf: πάλιν ὡς προδότην *cet.* [4] τότε Reiske: τε.
[5] So Dindorf (cp. Xenophon, *Education of Cyrus*, 8. 8. 4): Ῥεωμίθρης.

[1] This was the name of the traitor. For different versions

Artabazus, at first unaware of the truth and suspecting that the man who had deserted Datames was effecting a counter-betrayal, ordered his own men to slay all the horsemen who approached. And Mithrobarzanes,[1] caught between the two parties—one group seeking revenge against him as a traitor; the other trying to punish him for counter-betrayal—was in a predicament, but since the situation allowed no time to deliberate, he had recourse to force, and fighting against both parties caused grievous slaughter. When, finally, more than ten thousand had been slain, Datames, having put the rest of Mithrobarzanes' men to flight and slain many of them, recalled with the trumpet his soldiers who had gone in pursuit. Amongst the survivors in the cavalry some went back to Datames and asked for pardon; the rest did nothing, having nowhere to turn, and finally, being about five hundred in number, were surrounded and shot down by Datames. As for Datames, though even before this he was admired for his generalship, at that time he won far greater acclaim for both his courage and his sagacity in the art of war; but King Artaxerxes, when he learned about Datames' exploit as general, because he was impatient to be rid of him, instigated his assassination.[2] 362/1 B.C.

92. While these things were going on, Rheomithres,[3] who had been sent by the insurgents to King Tachôs in Egypt, received from him five hundred

of this story see Nepos, *Datames*, 6; Polyaenus, 7. 21. 7; and Frontinus, *Strategemata*, 2. 7. 9.
[2] See note 2, p. 207.
[3] Mentioned in Xenophon, *Education of Cyrus*, 8. 8. 4 as leaving his wife and children and the children of his friends as hostages in the power of Tachôs. Fought at Granicus and Issus (see Book 17. 19. 4 and 34. 5).

λαντα πεντακόσια, ναῦς δὲ μακρὰς πεντήκοντα, κατέπλευσε τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὰς ὀνομαζομένας Λεύκας. εἰς δὲ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν μεταπεμψάμενος πολλοὺς τῶν ἀφεστηκότων ἡγεμόνας, τούτους μὲν συλλαβὼν καὶ δήσας ἀνέπεμψε πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀποστάτης γενόμενος ταῖς ἐκ τῆς προδοσίας δωρεαῖς διελύσατο τὰ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.
2 κατὰ δὲ τὴν Αἴγυπτον Ταχὼς ὁ βασιλεὺς κατασκευασάμενος τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον διακοσίας μὲν τριήρεις εἶχε πολυτελῶς κεκοσμημένας, μισθοφόρους δ' ἐπιλέκτους ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος μυρίους, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων πεζοὺς στρατιώτας Αἰγυπτίους ὀκτακισμυρίους. καὶ τῶν μὲν μισθοφόρων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρέδωκεν Ἀγησιλάῳ τῷ Σπαρτιάτῃ, ἀπεσταλμένῳ μὲν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν μεθ' ὁπλιτῶν χιλίων, δυναμένῳ δ' ἡγεῖσθαι στρατιωτῶν καὶ δι' ἀνδρείαν καὶ στρατηγικὴν
3 σύνεσιν τεθαυμασμένῳ· τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐνεχείρισε Χαβρίᾳ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ, δημοσίᾳ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος οὐκ ἀπεσταλμένῳ, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως συστρατεύειν πεπεισμένῳ. αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔχων τὴν[1] ἡγεμονίαν καὶ στρατηγὸς ὢν ἁπάσης τῆς δυνάμεως,[2] Ἀγησιλάῳ μὲν συμβουλεύσαντι μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ διὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν τὸν πόλεμον διοικεῖν οὐ προσέσχε καλῶς συμβουλεύοντι. τῆς γὰρ δυνάμεως

[1] ἅπασαν τὴν MSS.; Reiske deletes ἅπασαν.
[2] So F[1]J: ἡγεμονίας *cet.*

[1] On a promontory at the mouth of the Hermus River (see chap. 18. 2 and 4).
[2] Agesilaüs could have come to Egypt only after the battle of Mantineia, accordingly in the autumn of 362 or in the following spring. The campaign was probably in the summer of 361. After the revolt against Tachôs, he supported Nectanebôs in his struggle against the Mendesian pretender (Plutarch, *Agesilaüs*, 37-38) and in the course of the winter (Xenophon, *Agesilaüs*, 2. 31. 1; Plutarch, *op. cit.* 40) left Egypt (end of 361 or beginning of 360). He died on the return journey to Sparta.

talents of silver and fifty warships, and sailed to Asia to the city named Leucae.[1] To this city he summoned many leaders of the insurgents. These he arrested and sent in irons to Artaxerxes, and, though he himself had been an insurgent, by the favours that he conferred through his betrayal, he made his peace with the King. In Egypt King Tachôs, having completed his preparations for the war, now had two hundred triremes expensively adorned, ten thousand chosen mercenaries from Greece, and besides these eighty thousand Egyptian infantry. He gave the command of the mercenaries to the Spartan Agesilaüs,[2] who had been dispatched by the Lacedaemonians with a thousand hoplites to fight as an ally, being a man capable of leading troops and highly regarded for his courage and for his shrewdness in the art of war. The command of the naval contingent he entrusted to Chabrias[3] the Athenian, who had not been sent officially by his country, but had been privately prevailed upon by the king to join the expedition. The king himself, having command of the Egyptians and being general of the whole army, gave no heed to the advice of Agesilaüs to remain in Egypt and conduct the war through the agency of his generals, though the advice was sound. In fact when 362/1 B.C.

[3] Chabrias had been general 363/2 (*IG*, 2². 1. 111) and could have come as a private commander in the late summer of 362 at the earliest. For his former service in Egypt see chap. 29. 2-4.

προελθούσης πορρωτέρω καὶ περὶ Φοινίκην καταστρατοπεδευούσης, ὁ καθεσταμένος ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου στρατηγὸς ἀπέστη ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, διαπεμψάμενος δὲ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν Νεκτανεβῶ, καὶ πείσας ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλείας,
4 μέγαν πόλεμον ἐξέκαυσεν· ὁ γὰρ Νεκτανεβῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τεταγμένος ἡγεμὼν τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου στρατιωτῶν, καὶ πεμφθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινίκης πολιορκεῖν τὰς ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ πόλεις, συγκάταινος γενόμενος ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιβολαῖς, τοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας δωρεαῖς τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἐπαγγελίαις προτρεψάμενος, ἔπεισε συναγωνιστὰς γενέσθαι.
5 τέλος δὲ καταληφθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστατῶν τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ὁ μὲν Ταχὼς καταπλαγεὶς ἐτόλμησε διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἀναβῆναι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ συγγνώμην ἠξίου δοῦναι περὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων· ὁ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξης οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν ἀπέλυσε τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀπέδειξε τοῦ πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους πολέμου.

93. Μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς τῶν Περσῶν ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρξας ἔτη τρία πρὸς τοῖς τετταράκοντα, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν διεδέξατο Ὦχος ὁ μετονομασθεὶς Ἀρταξέρξης, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη τρία πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι· τοῦ γὰρ Ἀρταξέρξου καλῶς βεβασιλευκότος καὶ γενομένου παντελῶς εἰρηνικοῦ καὶ ἐπιτυχοῦς, τοὺς μετὰ τοῦτον βασιλεύοντας μετωνόμαζον καὶ τὴν τούτου προσηγορίαν ἔχειν
2 προσέταττον. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως Ταχὼ ἐπανελθόντος πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, Νεκτανεβῶς

[1] Since Xerxes II and Darius II intervened between Artaxerxes I (465/4–425/4, see Books 11. 69. 6 and 12. 64. 1) and Artaxerxes II (405/4–362/1, see Book 13. 108. 1), this state-

the armament had gone far afield and was encamped near Phoenicia, the general left in charge of Egypt revolted from the king, and having thereupon sent word to his son Nectanebôs prevailed upon him to take the kingship in Egypt, and thereby kindled a great war. For Nectanebôs, who had been appointed by the king commander of the soldiers from Egypt and had been sent from Phoenicia to besiege the cities in Syria, after approving of his father's designs, solicited the officers with bribes and the common soldiers with promises, and so prevailed upon them to be his accomplices. At last Egypt was seized by the insurgents, and Tachôs, panic-stricken, made bold to go up to the King by way of Arabia and beg forgiveness for his past errors. Artaxerxes not only cleared him of the charges against him but even appointed him general in the war against Egypt. 362/1 B.C.

93. Shortly after, the King of Persia died, having ruled forty-three years, and Ochus, who now assumed a new name, Artaxerxes, succeeded to the kingdom and ruled twenty-three years;—for since the first Artaxerxes had ruled well and had shown himself altogether peace-loving and fortunate, the Persians changed the names of those who ruled after him and prescribed that they should bear that name.[1] When King Tachôs had returned to the army of Agesilaüs,[2]

ment is not quite accurate. The name Artaxerxes seems not to have been used for Arses and Darius III.

[2] Diodorus's account of Agesilaüs in Egypt differs considerably from the other accounts: Xenophon, *Agesilaüs*, 2. 28-31; Plutarch, *Agesilaüs*, 36-40; and Nepos, *Agesilaüs*, 8. Plutarch appears to be the most reliable. In particular Agesilaüs is elsewhere reported to have changed allegiance from Tachôs to Nectanebôs. According to Olmstead (*History of the Persian Empire*, 417, 419-420) Agesilaüs served in Egypt from 360 to 358.

ἠθροικὼς στρατιώτας πλείους τῶν δέκα μυριάδων ἧκεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ταχώ, καὶ προεκαλεῖτο περὶ τῆς βασιλείας διαγωνίσασθαι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀγησίλαος ὁρῶν τὸν βασιλέα καταπεπληγμένον καὶ μὴ τολμῶντα διακινδυνεύειν, παρεκάλει θαρρεῖν· τῆς γὰρ νίκης τυγχάνειν οὐ τοὺς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος προέχοντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κατὰ τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας πρωτεύοντας· οὐ προσέχοντος δ' αὐτοῦ συνηναγκάσθη μετ' αὐτοῦ ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν εἴς τινα πόλιν εὐ-
3 μεγέθη. οἱ δ' Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ πρῶτον ἐπολιόρκουν τοὺς συγκεκλεισμένους· ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὺς ἐν ταῖς τειχομαχίαις ἀπέβαλον, τείχει καὶ τάφρῳ περιελάμβανον τὴν πόλιν. ταχὺ δὲ τῶν ἔργων συντελουμένων διὰ τὴν πολυχειρίαν,[1] καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐξαναλωθέντων, ὁ μὲν Ταχὼς ἀπέγνω τὴν σωτηρίαν, ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος παρακαλέσας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιθέμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις, διέσωσεν
4 ἅπαντας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνελπίστως. ἐπιδιωξάντων δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τῶν τόπων ὄντων πεδινῶν, οἱ μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι διέλαβον τῷ πλήθει κεκυκλῶσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ πάντας ἄρδην ἀναιρήσειν, ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος καταλαβόμενος τόπον ὃς εἶχεν ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους διώρυγα ποταμοῦ χειροποίητον, ὑπέμενε τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἔφοδον.
5 ἐκτάξας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν οἰκείως τοῖς τόποις, καὶ τοῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ῥείθροις ὀχυρώσας τὴν στρατιάν, συνῆψε μάχην. τοῦ δὲ πλήθους τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἀχρήστου γενομένου, ταῖς ἀρεταῖς προέχοντες οἱ Ἕλληνες πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων,
6 τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς φεύγειν ἠνάγκασαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ μὲν Ταχὼς ῥᾳδίως ἀνεκτήσατο τὴν κατ'

Nectanebôs, who had collected more than a hundred thousand men, came against Tachôs and challenged him to fight a battle for the kingship. Now Agesilaüs, observing that the king was terrified and lacked the courage to risk a battle, bade him take heart. "For," said he, "it is not those who have the advantage of numbers who win the victory, but those who excel in valour." But since the king paid no heed to Agesilaüs, he was obliged to withdraw with him to a large city. The Egyptians at first started to assault them once they were shut in it, but when they had lost many men in their attacks on the walls, they then began to surround the city with a wall and a ditch. As the work was rapidly nearing completion by reason of the large number of workers, and the provisions in the city were exhausted, Tachôs despaired of his safety, but Agesilaüs, encouraging the men and attacking the enemy by night, unexpectedly succeeded in bringing all the men out safely. And since the Egyptians had pursued close on their heels and the district was now flat, the Egyptians supposed that they had the enemy surrounded by superior numbers, and would utterly destroy them, but Agesilaüs seized a position which had on each side a canal fed by the river and thus halted the enemy's attack. Then having drawn up his force in conformity with the terrain and protected his army by the river channels, he joined battle. The superior numbers of the Egyptians had become useless, and the Greeks, who surpassed them in courage, slew many Egyptians and forced the rest to flee. Afterwards Tachôs easily recovered the 362/1 B.C.

[1] διὰ τὴν πολυχειρίαν] the MSS. except P, which omits διὰ. Cp. chap. 68. 3 and Book 13. 86. 1. Vogel reads τῇ πολυχειρίᾳ (cp. Book 14. 51. 1, 58. 3).

Αἴγυπτον βασιλείαν, ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ὡς μόνος κατωρθωκὼς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐτιμήθη προσηκούσαις δωρεαῖς. ἐπανιὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα διὰ Κυρήνης ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐν μέλιτι κομισθέντος εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην ἔτυχε τῆς βασιλικῆς ταφῆς τε καὶ τιμῆς.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μέχρι τούτων προέβη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.

94. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον τοῖς Ἀρκάσι γενομένης εἰρήνης κοινῆς μετὰ τὴν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ μάχην, ἐνιαυτὸν μόνον ἐμμείναντες τοῖς ὅρκοις πάλιν κατέστησαν τὸν[1] πόλεμον. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἦν γεγραμμένον ἑκάστους εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀπιέναι πατρίδα μετὰ τὴν μάχην, εἰς δὲ τὴν Μεγάλην πόλιν ὑπῆρχον αἱ περιοικοῦσαι πόλεις μετῳκισμέναι καὶ δυσχερῶς φέρουσαι τὴν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος μετάστασιν. διόπερ αὐτῶν ἐπανελθόντων εἰς τὰς προγεγενημένας πόλεις, οἱ Μεγαλοπολῖται
2 συνηνάγκαζον ἐκλιπεῖν τὰς πατρίδας. διὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν γενομένης διαφορᾶς, οἱ μὲν ἐκ τῶν πολισμάτων ἠξίουν αὐτοῖς βοηθεῖν Μαντινεῖς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀρκάδων τινάς,[2] ἔτι δὲ Ἠλείους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μετεσχηκότας τοῖς Μαντινεῦσι συμμαχίας· οἱ δὲ Μεγαλοπολῖται τοὺς Θηβαίους[3] παρεκάλουν συμμαχεῖν. οἷς ἀπέστειλαν συντόμως ὁπλίτας μὲν τρισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ τριακοσίους,
3 ὧν τὴν στρατηγίαν εἶχε Παμμένης. οὗτος δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς Μεγάλην πόλιν, καὶ τῶν πολισμάτων ἃ

[1] τὸν MSS., except PALK which omit; εἰς τὸν Wesseling; εἰς Vogel.
[2] τινάς added by Capps.
[3] So Dindorf (cp. Book 16. 34. 1, 39. 2): Ἀθηναίους.

[1] Contrary to Plutarch, *Agesilaüs*, 38. 1 and 40. 1, who

Egyptian kingship,[1] and Agesilaüs, as the one who single-handed had restored his kingdom, was honoured with appropriate gifts. On his journey back to his native land by way of Cyrenê Agesilaüs died, and his body packed in honey[2] was conveyed to Sparta where he received kingly burial and honour. 362/1 B.C.

So far did events in Asia progress to the end of the year.

94. In the Peloponnese, though the Arcadians had agreed on a general peace after the battle of Mantineia, they adhered to their covenant only a year before they renewed the war. In the covenant it was written that each should return to his respective native country after the battle, but there had come into the city of Megalopolis[3] the inhabitants of neighbouring cities who had been moved to new homes and were finding transplantation from their own homes difficult to bear. Consequently when they had returned to the cities which had formerly been theirs, the Megalopolitans tried to compel them to abandon their homelands. And when for this reason a quarrel arose, the townsfolk asked the Mantineians and certain other Arcadians to help them, and also the Eleians and the other peoples that were members of the alliance with the Mantineians, whereas the Megalopolitans besought the Thebans to fight with them as allies. The Thebans speedily dispatched to them three thousand hoplites and three hundred cavalry with Pammenes as their commander. He came to Megalopolis, and by

seems more reliable. Tachôs fled, Agesilaüs established Nectanebôs and left with gifts from the latter.

[2] Contrary to Plutarch, *Agesilaüs*, 40. 3: " . . . enclosed his dead body in melted wax, since they had no honey . . . " (Perrin, *L.C.L.*). Nepos, *Agesilaüs*, 8. 7 agrees with Plutarch.

[3] For the founding of Megalopolis see chap. 72. 4.

μὲν ἐκπορθήσας, ἃ δὲ καταπληξάμενος, συνηνάγκασεν εἰς τὴν Μεγάλην πόλιν μετοικῆσαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸν συνοικισμὸν τῶν πόλεων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο ταραχῆς ἐλθόντα ἔτυχεν ἐνδεχομένης καταστολῆς.

4 Τῶν δὲ συγγραφέων Ἀθάνας ὁ Συρακόσιος τῶν περὶ Δίωνα πράξεων ἐντεῦθεν ἀρξάμενος ἔγραψε μὲν βύβλους τρισκαίδεκα, προανέλαβε[1] δὲ τὸν ἄγραφον χρόνον ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ ἀπὸ τῆς Φιλίστου συντάξεως ἐν μιᾷ βύβλῳ καὶ διελθὼν τὰς πράξεις ἐν κεφαλαίοις συνεχῆ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐποίησεν.

95. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Νικοφήμου τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διέλαβε Γάιος Σολπίκιος καὶ Γάιος Λικίνιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν ὁ Φερῶν τύραννος λῃστρίδας ναῦς ἐκπέμψας ἐπὶ τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους, τινὰς μὲν ἐκπολιορκήσας πολλῶν σωμάτων ἐκυρίευσεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Πεπάρηθον ἀποβιβάσας μισθοφόρους στρατιώτας ἐπολιόρκει
2 τὴν πόλιν. Ἀθηναίων δὲ βοηθησάντων τοῖς Πεπαρηθίοις καὶ στρατηγὸν Λεωσθένην ἀπολιπόντων, ἐπέθετο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· ἐτύγχανον δ' οὗτοι παραφυλάττοντες τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πανόρμῳ διατρίβοντας τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιωτῶν. ἀπροσδοκήτως δὲ ἐπιθεμένων τῶν τοῦ δυνάστου, παράδοξος εὐημερία περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐγένετο. οὐ μόνον γὰρ τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους ἐν τῷ Πανόρμῳ διέσωσεν ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων κινδύνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τριήρεις μὲν Ἀττικὰς

[1] προανέλαβε Post : προσανέλαβε.

[1] Athanas (Athanis in Plutarch and Athenaeus, 3. 98 d, who entitles his history Σικελικά) seems to have played an outstanding political rôle in Syracuse during Dion's time (Theopompus, fr. 212 M or 184 Oxford). The first book of his work handled the last seven years of the younger Dionysius from

sacking some of the towns and terrifying others he compelled their inhabitants to change their abode to Megalopolis. So the problem of the amalgamation of the cities, after it had reached such a state of turmoil. was reduced to such calm as was possible. 362/1 B.C.

Of the historians, Athanas[1] of Syracuse wrote thirteen books beginning with the events attending and following Dion's expedition, but he prefixed, in one book, an account of the period of seven years not recorded in the treatise of Philistus and by recording these events in summary fashion made of the history a continuous narrative.

95. When Nicophemus was archon at Athens, the consular office at Rome was assumed by Gaius Sulpicius and Gaius Licinius. During their term of office Alexander, tyrant of Pherae, sent pirate ships against the Cyclades,[2] stormed some and took many captives, then disembarking mercenaries on Peparethos[3] put the city under siege. And when the Athenians came to the assistance of the Peparethians and left Leosthenes in command of the mission, Alexander attacked the Athenians. Actually they were blockading such of Alexander's soldiers as were stationed in Panormus. And since the tyrant's men attacked unexpectedly, Alexander won a surprising success. For he not only rescued the detachment at Panormus from the greatest danger, but he also captured five Attic 361/0 B.C.

363, where Philistus ended (see chap. 89. 3), to Dion's return in 357. Then the presentation was more detailed and developed in twelve books to the death of Timoleon (*FHG*, 2. 82. 3). His influence is seen in Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 23. 4, 37. 6. See Christ-Schmidt[6], *Gr. Litt.* 526.

[2] See Demosthenes, 50. 4-5; Polyaenus, 6. 2.

[3] An island off Thessaly, north of Scyros. Perhaps Panormus is its harbour town.

πέντε, μίαν δὲ Πεπαρηθίαν εἷλε, καὶ σωμάτων
3 ἐκυρίευσεν ἑξακοσίων. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι παροξυνθέντες τοῦ μὲν Λεωσθένους ὡς προδότου θάνατον κατέγνωσαν καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐδήμευσαν, ἑλόμενοι δὲ στρατηγὸν Χάρητα καὶ ναυτικὴν δύναμιν δόντες ἐξέπεμψαν. οὗτος δὲ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους εὐλαβούμενος, τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους ἀδικῶν διετέλει. καταπλεύσας γὰρ εἰς Κόρκυραν συμμαχίδα πόλιν, στάσεις ἐν αὐτῇ μεγάλας ἐκίνησεν ἐξ ὧν συνέπεσε γενέσθαι σφαγὰς πολλὰς καὶ ἁρπαγάς, δι' ἃς συνέβη τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων διαβληθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις. ὁ μὲν οὖν Χάρης καὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα παρανομῶν ἀγαθὸν μὲν οὐδὲν διεπράξατο, τῇ δὲ πατρίδι διαβολάς.

4 Τῶν δὲ συγγραφέων Διονυσόδωρος[1] καὶ Ἄναξις οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὴν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱστορίαν[2] εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν κατεστρόφασι τὰς συντάξεις. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς πρὸ Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως πράξεις διεληλυθότες, ταύτην μὲν τὴν βύβλον κατὰ τὴν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρόθεσιν αὐτοῦ περιγράφομεν,[3] τὴν δ' ἐχομένην ἀπὸ τῆς Φιλίππου παραλήψεως τῆς βασιλείας ἀρξάμενοι πάσας διέξιμεν τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως τούτου πράξεις μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς, συμπεριλαμβάνοντες καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς γεγενημένας[4] ἐν τοῖς γνωριζομένοις μέρεσι τῆς οἰκουμένης.

[1] So Dindorf: Διονυσιόδωρος.
[2] Dindorf deletes τὴν . . . ἱστορίαν (cp. Book 14. 117. 8).
[3] So editors: παραγράφομεν.
[4] So PAJL, γενομένας *cet.*

triremes and one Peparethian, and took six hundred 361/0 B.C. captives. The Athenians, enraged, condemned Leosthenes to death as a traitor and confiscated his property, then choosing Chares[1] as general in command and giving him a fleet, they sent him out. But he spent his time avoiding the enemy and injuring the allies. For he sailed to Corcyra, an allied city, and stirred up such violent civil strife in it that many murders and seizures took place, with the result that the Athenian democracy was discredited in the eyes of the allies. So it turned out that Chares, who did many other such lawless acts, accomplished nothing good but brought his country into discredit.

The historians Dionysodorus and Anaxis,[2] Boeotians, closed their narrative of Greek history with this year. But we, now that we have narrated the events before the time of King Philip, bring this book to a close here in accordance with the plan stated at the beginning.[3] In the following book which begins with Philip's accession to the throne, we shall record all the achievements of this king to his death, including in its compass those other events as well which have occurred in the known portions of the world.

[1] For Chares and Corcyra see Aeneas Tacticus, 11. 13 ff. Demosthenes notes the hostility of Corcyra in 24. 202 and 18. 234.
[2] These Boeotian historians are to us mere names. No fragments exist.
[3] See chap. 1. 6.

Manuscripts

P. Codex Patmius, 10th or 11th century.
X. Codex Venetus S. Marci, 14th or 15th century.

R. Codex Parisinus, 12th century.
V. Codex Vaticanus, 15th or 16th century.

F. Codex Florentinus Laur., 14th or 15th century.
M. Codex Venetus S. Marci, 15th century.

The designations of the MSS. are those of the Preface to the fourth volume of the edition of Vogel-Fischer.

BOOK XVI

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ἑκκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Διοδώρου βίβλων

Ὡς Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου παρέλαβε τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν.

Ὡς Ἀργαῖον ἀντιποιούμενον τῆς βασιλείας ἐνίκησεν.

Ὡς Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Παίονας καταπολεμήσας ἐκτήσατο τὴν προγονικὴν ἀρχήν.

Περὶ τῆς ἀνανδρίας τοῦ νεωτέρου Διονυσίου καὶ τῆς Δίωνος φυγῆς.

Κτίσις Ταυρομενίου κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν.

Τὰ πραχθέντα κατὰ τὴν Εὔβοιαν καὶ κατὰ τὸν συμμαχικὸν πόλεμον.

Πολιορκία Ἀμφιπόλεως ὑπὸ Φιλίππου καὶ ἅλωσις.

Ὡς Φίλιππος τοὺς Πυδναίους ἐξανδραποδισάμενος τὰ χρύσεια μέταλλα κατεσκεύασεν.

Ὡς Δίων ἐλευθερώσας τοὺς Συρακουσίους Διονύσιον κατεπολέμησεν.

Ὡς ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος πάλιν ἀνεκτήσατο τὰς Συρακούσας.

Κατάλυσις συμμαχικοῦ πολέμου.

Συνδρομὴ τριῶν βασιλέων ἐπὶ Φίλιππον.

Ὡς Φιλόμηλος ὁ Φωκεὺς τοὺς Δελφοὺς καὶ τὸ μαντεῖον καταλαβόμενος τὸν ἱερὸν πόλεμον ἐξέκαυσεν.

CONTENTS OF THE SIXTEENTH BOOK OF DIODORUS

How Philip, son of Amyntas, succeeded to the Macedonian throne (chaps. 1-2).

How he defeated Argaeus, pretender to the throne (chap. 3).

How, having subdued the Illyrians and the Paeonians, he acquired the empire of his fathers (chap. 4).

On the pusillanimity of Dionysius the Younger and the flight of Dion (chaps. 5-6).

The founding of Tauromenium in Sicily (chap. 7. 1).

Events in Euboea and in the course of the Social War (chap. 7. 2-end).

Siege of Amphipolis by Philip and its capture (chap. 8. 1-2).

How Philip, having reduced to slavery the people of Pydna, developed the gold mines (chap. 8. 3-end).

How Dion, having liberated the Syracusans, defeated Dionysius (chaps. 9-15).

How, after being expelled from his native land, he again got control of Syracuse (chaps. 16-20).

Conclusion of the Social War (chaps. 21-22. 2).

Combination of three kings against Philip (chap 22. 3).

How Philomelus the Phocian, having seized Del phi and its oracle, kindled the Sacred War (chaps. 23-25).

1. Ἐν πάσαις μὲν ταῖς ἱστορικαῖς πραγματείαις καθήκει τοὺς συγγραφεῖς περιλαμβάνειν ἐν ταῖς βίβλοις ἢ πόλεων ἢ βασιλέων πράξεις αὐτοτελεῖς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τοῦ τέλους· οὕτως γὰρ μάλιστα διαλαμβάνομεν τὴν ἱστορίαν εὐμνημόνευτον καὶ
2 σαφῆ γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσιν. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἡμιτελεῖς πράξεις οὐκ ἔχουσαι συνεχὲς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τὸ πέρας μεσολαβοῦσι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῶν φιλαναγνωστούντων, αἱ δὲ τὸ τῆς διηγήσεως συνεχὲς περιλαμβάνουσαι μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς ἀπηρτισμένην τὴν τῶν πράξεων ἔχουσιν ἀπαγγελίαν. ὅταν δ' ἡ φύσις αὐτὴ τῶν πραχθέντων συνεργῇ τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι, τότ' ἤδη παντελῶς οὐκ ἀποστατέον ταύτης
3 τῆς προαιρέσεως. διόπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς παρόντες ἐπὶ τὰς Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου πράξεις πειρασόμεθα τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ πραχθέντα περιλαβεῖν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ βίβλῳ. οὗτος γὰρ εἴκοσι μὲν καὶ τέτταρα ἔτη τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐβασίλευσεν, ἐλαχίσταις δὲ ἀφορμαῖς χρησάμενος μεγίστην τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην δυναστειῶν κατεσκεύασε τὴν ἰδίαν βασιλείαν καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν Μακεδονίαν δουλεύουσαν Ἰλλυριοῖς πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων

[1] In Book 1. 3 Diodorus sets forth his design for the History. Inasmuch as it is a "universal history," the fortunes of a single man, *e.g.* Philip, might well be spread over

1. In all systematic historical treatises it behooves the historian to include in his books actions of states or of kings which are complete in themselves from beginning to end; for in this manner I conceive history to be most easy to remember and most intelligible to the reader. Now incomplete actions, the conclusion of which is unconnected with the beginning, interrupt the interest of the curious reader, whereas if the actions embrace a continuity of development culminating naturally, the narrative of events will achieve a well-rounded perfection. Whenever the natural pattern of events itself harmonizes with the task of the historian, from that point on he must not deviate at all from this principle.[1] Consequently, now that I have reached the actions of Philip son of Amyntas, I shall endeavour to include the deeds performed by this king within the compass of the present Book. For Philip was king over the Macedonians for twenty-four years, and having started from the most insignificant beginnings built up his kingdom to be the greatest of the dominions in Europe, and having taken over Macedonia when she was a slave to the Illyrians, made her mistress of many

a considerable compass, since the author pursues the chronological order. The fortunes of Philip have a particular advantage, in that Diodorus can deal with them compactly—he says here in a single book—and still maintain his chronological plan.

4 κυρίαν ἐποίησε. διὰ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν τῆς μὲν
Ἑλλάδος ἁπάσης παρέλαβε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἑκου-
σίως τῶν πόλεων ὑποταττομένων, τοὺς δὲ τὸ ἐν
Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν συλήσαντας καταπολεμήσας καὶ τῷ
μαντείῳ βοηθήσας μετέσχε τοῦ συνεδρίου τῶν
Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ διὰ τὴν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν
ἔπαθλον ἔλαβε τὰς ψήφους τῶν κρατηθέντων Φω-
5 κέων. Ἰλλυριοὺς δὲ καὶ Παίονας καὶ Θρᾷκας καὶ
Σκύθας καὶ πάντα τὰ πλησιόχωρα τούτοις ἔθνη
καταπολεμήσας τὴν Περσῶν βασιλείαν ἐπεβάλετο
καταλῦσαι καὶ δυνάμεις μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν δια-
βιβάσας τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἠλευθέρου, μεσο-
λαβηθεὶς δ' ὑπὸ τῆς πεπρωμένης τηλικαύτας καὶ
τοιαύτας δυνάμεις ἀπέλιπεν ὥστε τὸν υἱὸν Ἀλέξ-
ανδρον μὴ προσδεηθῆναι συμμάχων εἰς τὴν κατά-
6 λυσιν τῆς Περσῶν ἡγεμονίας. καὶ ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν
οὐ διὰ τύχην, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετήν. γέγονε
γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἀγχινοίᾳ στρατηγικῇ καὶ
ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ λαμπρότητι ψυχῆς διαφέρων. ἵνα δὲ
μὴ διὰ τοῦ προοιμίου προλαμβάνωμεν αὐτοῦ τὰς
πράξεις, ἐπὶ τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ἱστορίας πορευσόμεθα,
βραχέα τοῖς χρόνοις προσαναδραμόντες.

2. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος γὰρ Ἀθήνησι Καλλιμήδους[1] ὀλυμπιὰς μὲν ἤχθη πέμπτη πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Πῶρος Κυρηναῖος, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Γναῖον Γενύκιον καὶ Λεύκιον Αἰμίλιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντου υἱός, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ τοῦ Πέρσας καταπολεμήσαντος πατὴρ παρέλαβε τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν διὰ

[1] See Kirchner, *Pros. Att.* no. 8035. Καλλιμέδους PX.

[1] The events in this chapter are taken up in the later narrative where proper annotations will appear.

powerful tribes and states. And it was by his own valour that he took over the supremacy of all Hellas with the consent of the states, which voluntarily subordinated themselves to his authority. Having subdued in war the men who had been plundering the shrine at Delphi and having brought aid to the oracle, he won a seat in the Amphictyonic Council, and because of his reverence for the gods received as his prize in the contest, after the defeat of the Phocians, the votes which had been theirs. Then when he had conquered in war Illyrians, Paeonians, Thracians, Scythians, and all the peoples in the vicinity of these, he planned to overthrow the Persian kingdom, and, after transporting his armaments into Asia, was in the act of liberating the Greek cities ; but, cut short by Fate in mid-career, he left armies so numerous and powerful that his son Alexander had no need to apply for allies in his attempt to overthrow the Persian supremacy.[1] And these deeds he accomplished, not by the favour of Fortune, but by his own valour. For King Philip excelled in shrewdness in the art of war, courage, and brilliance of personality. But, not to anticipate his achievements in my introduction, I shall proceed to the continuous thread of the narrative after first briefly retracing his early period.

2. When Callimedes was archon at Athens, the one hundred fifth celebration of the Olympian games was held at which Porus of Cyrenê won the stadion race, and the Romans elected as consuls Gnaeus Genucius and Lucius Aemilius. During their term of office Philip, the son of Amyntas and father of Alexander who defeated the Persians in war, succeeded to the Macedonian throne in the following manner. After 360/59 B.C.

2 τοιαύτας αἰτίας. Ἀμύντου καταπολεμηθέντος ὑπὸ
Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ φόρους τοῖς κρατήσασι τελεῖν ἀναγ-
κασθέντος οἱ μὲν Ἰλλυριοὶ λαβόντες εἰς ὁμηρίαν
Φίλιππον τὸν νεώτατον τῶν υἱῶν παρέθεντο τοῖς
Θηβαίοις. οὗτοι δὲ τῷ Ἐπαμεινώνδου πατρὶ παρέ-
θεντο τὸν νεανίσκον καὶ προσέταξαν ἅμα τηρεῖν
ἐπιμελῶς τὴν παρακαταθήκην καὶ προστατεῖν τῆς
3 ἀγωγῆς καὶ παιδείας. τοῦ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδου
Πυθαγόριον ἔχοντος φιλόσοφον ἐπιστάτην συν-
τρεφόμενος ὁ Φίλιππος μετέσχεν ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῶν
Πυθαγορίων λόγων. ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τῶν μαθητῶν
προσενεγκαμένων φύσιν τε καὶ φιλοπονίαν ὑπῆρξαν
ἑκάτεροι διαφέροντες ἀρετῇ· ὧν Ἐπαμεινώνδας μὲν
μεγάλους ἀγῶνας καὶ κινδύνους ὑπομείνας τῇ
πατρίδι παραδόξως τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος
περιέθηκεν, ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ταῖς αὐταῖς ἀφορμαῖς χρη-
σάμενος οὐκ ἀπελείφθη τῆς Ἐπαμεινώνδου δόξης.
4 μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Ἀμύντου τελευτὴν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ
πρεσβύτατος τῶν υἱῶν διεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχήν. τοῦτον

[1] This defeat occurs on two occasions according to Diodorus, at the beginning of his reign (Book 14. 92. 3-4) and again about 383 (Book 15. 19. 2). Beloch (*Griechische Geschichte*[2], 3. 2. 58) thinks the first mention erroneous.

[2] Since Philip was born about 383 he was an infant when given to the Illyrians. Justin (7. 5. 1) states that he was ransomed by Alexander II and later sent by him as hostage to Thebes. Diodorus likewise has Alexander send him to Thebes (Book 15. 67. 4) as does Plutarch (*Pelopidas*, 26. 4). Modern historians, *e.g.* Beloch (*op. cit.* 3. 1. 182, note), Glotz (*Hist. gr.* 3. 227), and the author of the article on Philip in P.-W. (*Realencyclopädie*, 19. 2266) agree that Ptolemy of Alorus, paramour and later husband of Eurydicê, widow of Amyntas III, was the monarch who sent Philip to Thebes, basing their account on Aeschines (*False Embassy*, 26 ff.), who places Philip at the court of Ptolemy when he succeeded Alexander II (369). Philip was probably in Thebes 368–365. His adoption of the "oblique order of battle" from Epameinondas is probably the most striking result of his sojourn in Thebes (see Wilcken, *Alexander the Great*, translated by G. C. Richards, 30).

Amyntas had been defeated by the Illyrians [1] and forced to pay tribute to his conquerors, the Illyrians, who had taken Philip, the youngest son of Amyntas, as a hostage, placed him in the care of the Thebans.[2] They in turn entrusted the lad to the father of Epameinondas and directed him both to keep careful watch over his ward and to superintend his upbringing and education. Since Epameinondas had as his instructor a philosopher of the Pythagorean school,[3] Philip, who was reared along with him, acquired a wide acquaintance with the Pythagorean philosophy. Inasmuch as both students showed natural ability and diligence they proved to be superior in deeds of valour. Of the two, Epameinondas underwent the most rigorous tests and battles, and invested his fatherland almost miraculously with the leadership of Hellas, while Philip, availing himself of the same initial training, achieved no less fame than Epameinondas. For after the death of Amyntas, Alexander,[4] the eldest of the sons of Amyntas, succeeded to the throne. 360/59 B.C.

[3] Lysis of Tarentum (see Nepos, *Epaminondas*, 2. 2). But Wesseling quotes Plutarch, *De Genio Socratis*, 584 B, to show that Lysis died shortly before the deliverance of Thebes. For the education of Epameinondas see Book 15. 39. 2. According to Plutarch (*Pelopidas*, 26. 5), Philip was a hostage in the house of Pammenes (see Books 15. 94. 2 and 16. 34. 1-2) and not in the house of Epameinondas' father, whose name was Polymnus (Nepos, *op. cit.* 1. 1). Certainly Epameinondas had passed his student days when Philip was a hostage, since he had already won the battle of Leuctra.

[4] See Book 15. 60. 3.

δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Ἀλωρίτης δολοφονήσας παρέλαβε
τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τοῦτον ὁμοίως Περδίκκας ἐπανε-
λόμενος ἐβασίλευσεν. τούτου δὲ παρατάξει μεγάλῃ
λειφθέντος ὑπὸ Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ πεσόντος ἐπὶ τῆς
χρείας Φίλιππος ὁ ἀδελφὸς διαδρὰς ἐκ τῆς ὁμηρίας
5 παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν κακῶς διακειμένην. ἀνῄ-
ρηντο μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ παρατάξει Μακεδόνων πλείους
τῶν τετρακισχιλίων, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ καταπεπληγμένοι
τὰς τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν δυνάμεις περίφοβοι καθειστή-
6 κεισαν καὶ πρὸς τὸ διαπολεμεῖν ἀθύμως εἶχον. ὑπὸ
δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν Παίονες μὲν πλησίον τῆς Μακε-
δονίας οἰκοῦντες ἐπόρθουν τὴν χώραν καταφρονοῦν-
τες τῶν Μακεδόνων, Ἰλλυριοὶ δὲ μεγάλας δυνάμεις
ἤθροιζον καὶ στρατεύειν εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν παρε-
σκευάζοντο, Παυσανίας δέ τις τῆς βασιλικῆς συγ-
γενείας κοινωνῶν ἐπεβάλλετο διὰ τοῦ Θρᾳκῶν
βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὴν Μακεδονικὴν βασιλείαν κατιέναι.
ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς Φίλιππον ἀλλοτρίως
ἔχοντες κατῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀργαῖον καὶ
στρατηγὸν ἀπεστάλκεισαν Μαντίαν ἔχοντα τρισχι-
λίους μὲν ὁπλίτας, ναυτικὴν δὲ δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον.

3. Οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες διά τε τὴν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ συμφορὰν καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐπιφερομένων κινδύνων ἐν ἀπορίᾳ τῇ μεγίστῃ καθειστήκεισαν. ἀλλ᾿ ὅμως τηλικούτων φόβων καὶ κινδύνων ἐφε-

[1] See Book 15. 71. 1.

[2] See Book 15. 77. 5.

[3] Bardylis was the name of their formidable king (Pickard-Cambridge, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 205).

[4] He was only ἐπίτροπος, regent, for Perdiccas' son Amyntas III (P.-W. *Realencyclopädie*, 19. 2266-2267). Under Perdiccas, after his return from Thebes, he had administered a district of Macedonia. (See Pickard-Cambridge, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 204.)

But Ptolemy of Alorus[1] assassinated him and succeeded to the throne and then in similar fashion Perdiccas[2] disposed of him and ruled as king. But when he was defeated in a great battle by the Illyrians[3] and fell in the action, Philip his brother, who had escaped from his detention as a hostage, succeeded to the kingdom,[4] now in a bad way. For the Macedonians had lost more than four thousand men in the battle, and the remainder, panic-stricken, had become exceedingly afraid of the Illyrian armies and had lost heart for continuing the war. About the same time the Paeonians, who lived near Macedonia, began to pillage their territory, showing contempt for the Macedonians, and the Illyrians began to assemble large armies and prepare for an invasion of Macedonia, while a certain Pausanias,[5] who was related to the royal line of Macedon, was planning with the aid of the Thracian king[6] to join the contest for the throne of Macedon. Similarly, the Athenians too, being hostile to Philip, were endeavouring to restore Argaeus[7] to the throne and had dispatched Mantias as general with three thousand hoplites and a considerable naval force. 360/59 B.C.

3. The Macedonians because of the disaster sustained in the battle and the magnitude of the dangers pressing upon them were in the greatest perplexity. Yet even so, with such fears and dangers threatening

[5] See Aeschines, *False Embassy*, 26-27. He had striven for the crown at the death of Alexander II. (See F. Geyer, *Makedonien bis zur Thronsbesteigung Philipps II*, Beiheft 19 der *Historischen Zeitschrift*, 1930, 132.)

[6] Berisades (?), Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], 3. 1. 225, note 1.

[7] See Book 14. 92. 4 and Beloch, *l.c.*, also p. 102. Also Geyer, *op. cit.* 139.

στώτων ὁ Φίλιππος οὐ κατεπλάγη τὸ μέγεθος τῶν προσδοκωμένων δεινῶν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐν συνεχέσιν ἐκκλησίαις συνέχων καὶ τῇ τοῦ λόγου δεινότητι προτρεπόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν εὐθαρσεῖς ἐποίησε, τὰς δὲ στρατιωτικὰς τάξεις ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον διορθωσάμενος καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ὅπλοις δεόντως κοσμήσας, συνεχεῖς ἐξοπλασίας
2 καὶ γυμνασίας ἐναγωνίους ἐποιεῖτο. ἐπενόησε δὲ καὶ τὴν τῆς φάλαγγος πυκνότητα καὶ κατασκευήν, μιμησάμενος τὸν ἐν Τροίᾳ τῶν ἡρώων συνασπισμόν, καὶ πρῶτος συνεστήσατο τὴν Μακεδονικὴν
3 φάλαγγα. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁμιλίαις προσηνὴς ἦν καὶ διά τε τῶν δωρεῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν εἰς τὴν μεγίστην εὔνοιαν τὰ πλήθη προήγετο, πρός τε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπιφερομένων κινδύνων εὐστόχως ἀντεμηχανᾶτο. θεωρῶν γὰρ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν ἀνακτήσασθαι τὴν πᾶσαν φιλοτιμίαν εἰσφερομένους καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατάγοντας τὸν Ἀργαῖον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἑκουσίως ἐξεχώρησε
4 τῆς πόλεως, ἀφεὶς αὐτὴν αὐτόνομον. πρὸς δὲ

[1] For the reorganization of the Macedonian army see Pickard-Cambridge, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 205. The addition of foot-soldiers to form the famous " Phalanx " and the provision of a long pike, *sarissa*, were the most important military reforms. See also Wilcken, *Alexander the Great* (trans.), 31-32.

[2] See Homer, *Iliad*, 13. 131 ff.

" Spear crowded spear,
Shield, helmet, man press'd helmet, man and shield ;
The hairy crests of their resplendent casques
Kiss'd close at every nod, so wedged they stood."
(Cowper's translation.)

These lines are quoted of the phalanx by Polybius, 18. 28. 6 and Curtius Rufus, 3. 2. 13.

them, Philip was not panic-stricken by the magnitude 360/59 B.C.
of the expected perils, but, bringing together the Macedonians in a series of assemblies and exhorting them with eloquent speeches to be men, he built up their morale, and, having improved the organization of his forces and equipped the men suitably with weapons [1] of war, he held constant manœuvres of the men under arms and competitive drills. Indeed he devised the compact order and the equipment of the phalanx, imitating the close order fighting with overlapping shields of the warriors at Troy,[2] and was the first to organize the Macedonian phalanx. He was courteous in his intercourse with men and sought to win over the multitudes by his gifts and his promises to the fullest loyalty, and endeavoured to counteract by clever moves the crowd of impending dangers. For instance, when he observed that the Athenians were centring all their ambition upon recovering Amphipolis and for this reason were trying to bring Argaeus back to the throne, he voluntarily withdrew from the city, after first making it autonomous.[3] Then

[3] Amphipolis was coveted by the Athenians (who had lost it to Brasidas in the Peloponnesian War) because of its commanding position by the Strymon River, giving access to the plains of Macedonia, and its nearness to forests needed in shipbuilding and to the gold and silver mines of Mt. Pangaeus. Between this occasion when Amphipolis was declared autonomous to thwart Argaeus, who had promised to hand it over to Athens if they made him king, and Philip's capture of the town (see chap. 8. 2 ff.), a secret treaty was made by which Philip promised to procure Amphipolis for Athens if he were assured of a free hand in Pydna, formerly Macedonian but then in the Athenian League. See Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², 3. 1. 225-226 ; Pickard-Cambridge, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 203-204. Compare Polyaenus, 4. 2. 17 ; Justin, 7. 6 ; Demosthenes, 23. 121 ; 2. 6 f. ; and Theopompus, fr. 165 (Oxford).

Παίονας διαπρεσβευσάμενος καὶ τοὺς μὲν δωρεαῖς
διαφθείρας, τοὺς δ' ἐπαγγελίαις φιλανθρώποις
πείσας κατὰ τὸ παρὸν εἰρήνην ἄγειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς
συνέθετο. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν Παυσανίαν ἀπέστησε
τῆς καθόδου τὸν κατάγειν μέλλοντα βασιλέα δω-
5 ρεαῖς πείσας. Μαντίας δ' ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρα-
τηγὸς καταπλεύσας εἰς Μεθώνην αὐτὸς μὲν ἐνταῦθα
κατέμεινε τὸν Ἀργαῖον δὲ μετὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων
ἐπὶ τὰς Αἰγὰς ἀπέστειλεν. οὗτος δὲ προσελθὼν
τῇ πόλει παρεκάλει τοὺς ἐν ταῖς Αἰγαῖς προσδέ-
ξασθαι τὴν κάθοδον καὶ γενέσθαι τῆς αὐτοῦ[1] βασι-
6 λείας ἀρχηγούς. οὐδενὸς δ' αὐτῷ προσέχοντος ὁ
μὲν ἀνέκαμπτεν εἰς τὴν Μεθώνην, ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος
ἐπιφανεὶς μετὰ στρατιωτῶν καὶ συνάψας μάχην
πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνεῖλε τῶν μισθοφόρων, τοὺς δὲ λοι-
ποὺς εἴς τινα λόφον καταφυγόντας ὑποσπόνδους
ἀφῆκεν, λαβὼν παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκδότους τοὺς φυγάδας.
Φίλιππος μὲν οὖν ταύτην πρώτην μάχην νικήσας
εὐθαρσεστέρους ἐποίησε τοὺς Μακεδόνας πρὸς τοὺς
7 ἐφεξῆς ἀγῶνας. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις
Θάσιοι μὲν ᾤκισαν τὰς ὀνομαζομένας Κρηνίδας,
ἃς ὕστερον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὀνομάσας Φιλίπ-
πους ἐπλήρωσεν οἰκητόρων.
8 Τῶν δὲ συγγραφέων Θεόπομπος ὁ Χῖος τὴν

[1] αὐτοῦ Dindorf: αὐτοῦ.

[1] The Thracian king mentioned chap. 2. 6.

[2] See chap. 2. 6. Methonê is above Pydna near the Macedonian border.

[3] Old capital of Macedonia, considerably inland.

[4] Some of these were Athenians whose losses he made good and through whom he tried to arrange an alliance with Athens. See Demosthenes, 23. 121.

he sent an embassy to the Paeonians, and by corrupting some with gifts and persuading others by generous promises he made an agreement with them to maintain peace for the present. In similar fashion he prevented the return of Pausanias by winning over with gifts the king[1] who was on the point of attempting his restoration. Mantias, the Athenian general, who had sailed into Methonê,[2] stayed behind there himself but sent Argaeus with his mercenaries to Aegae.[3] And Argaeus approached the city and invited the population of Aegae to welcome his return and become the founders of his own kingship. When no one paid any attention to him, he turned back to Methonê, but Philip, who suddenly appeared with his soldiers, engaged him in battle, slew many of his mercenaries, and released under a truce[4] the rest, who had fled for refuge to a certain hill, after he had first obtained from them the exiles, whom they delivered to him. 360/59 B.C.

Now Philip by his success in this first battle encouraged the Macedonians to meet the succeeding contests with greater temerity. While these things were going on, the Thasians settled the place called Crenides,[5] which the king afterward named Philippi for himself and made a populous settlement.

Among the writers of history Theopompus of

[5] North-east of Mt. Pangaeus in Thrace. "Philippi is a city that was formerly called Datus, and before that Crenides, because there are many springs bubbling around a hill there. Philip fortified it because he considered it an excellent stronghold against the Thracians, and named it from himself, Philippi." Appian, *Civil Wars*, 4. 105, translated by White (*L.C.L.*). Datus was the older name found in Herodotus, 9. 75. Κρηνίδες is found in *IG*, 2^2. 127 of the year 356/5. This seems to be the first instance of the practice, later so common, of naming cities for a king.

ἀρχὴν τῶν περὶ Φίλιππον ἱστοριῶν ἐντεῦθεν ποιησάμενος γέγραφεν βύβλους ὀκτὼ πρὸς ταῖς πεντήκοντα, ἐξ ὧν πέντε διαφωνοῦσιν.

4. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Εὐχαρίστου Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Κόιντον Σερουίλιον καὶ Κόιντον[1] Γενούκιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ὁ Φίλιππος πρέσβεις ἐκπέμψας εἰς Ἀθήνας ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον εἰρήνην πρὸς αὐτὸν συνθέσθαι διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔτι
2 προσποιεῖσθαι τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν. ἀπολυθεὶς δὲ τοῦ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμου καὶ πυνθανόμενος τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Παιόνων Ἄγιν τετελευτηκέναι ὑπέλαβε καιρὸν ἔχειν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Παίοσιν. στρατεύσας οὖν εἰς τὴν Παιονίαν καὶ παρατάξει τοὺς βαρβάρους νικήσας ἠνάγκασε τὸ ἔθνος πειθαρχεῖν
3 τοῖς Μακεδόσιν. ὑπολειπομένων δὲ πολεμίων τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο καὶ τούτους καταπολεμῆσαι. εὐθὺς οὖν συναγαγὼν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας οἰκείοις λόγοις προτρεψάμενος εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐστράτευσεν εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν χώραν, πεζοὺς μὲν ἔχων οὐκ ἐλάττους μυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἑξακο-
4 σίους. Βάρδυλις[2] δ' ὁ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν βασιλεὺς πυθόμενος τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν πολεμίων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλεν περὶ διαλύσεως ἐφ' ὅτῳ κυρίους ἀμφοτέρους εἶναι τῶν τότε κυριευομένων πόλεων· τοῦ δὲ Φιλίππου φήσαντος ἐπιθυμεῖν μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης, μὴ μέντοι γε ταύτην συγχωρήσειν ἐὰν μὴ τῶν Μακεδονικῶν πόλεων

[1] So MSS., Λεύκιον Stephanus marg. and *Fasti Consulares* followed by Dindorf, Bekker (cp. Livy, 7. 4 *L. Genucius*).

[2] Βαρδύλις PX, Βάρδυλλις RV (cp. Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 9); Βαρδύλης Arrian, 1. 5. 1.

Chios[1] began his history of Philip at this point and composed fifty-eight books, of which five are lost. 360/59 B.C.

4. When Eucharistus was archon at Athens, the 359/8 B.C. Romans elected as consuls Quintus Servilius and Quintus Genucius. During their term of office Philip sent ambassadors to Athens and persuaded the assembly to make peace with him on the ground that he abandoned for all time any claim to Amphipolis.[2] Now that he was relieved of the war with the Athenians and had information that the king of the Paeonians, Agis, was dead, he conceived that he had the opportunity to attack the Paeonians. Accordingly, having conducted an expedition into Paeonia and defeated the barbarians in a battle, he compelled the tribe to acknowledge allegiance to the Macedonians. And since the Illyrians were still left as enemies, he was ambitious to defeat them in war also. So, having quickly called an assembly and exhorted his soldiers for the war in a fitting speech, he led an expedition into the Illyrian territory, having no less than ten thousand foot-soldiers and six hundred horsemen. Bardylis,[3] the king of the Illyrians, having learned of the presence of the enemy, first dispatched envoys to arrange for a cessation of hostilities on the condition that both sides remained possessed of the cities which they then controlled. But when Philip said that he indeed desired peace but would not, however, concur in that proposal unless the Illyrians should withdraw

[1] Of this work, the longest history published till then, two hundred seventeen fragments remain. Theopompus' admiration for Philip is reflected by Diodorus, who must have relied heavily on his account. For the contents of the *Philippica* see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², 3. 2. 18-24.

[2] See note on chap. 3. 3.

[3] For the power of this king see chap. 2. 5.

ἁπασῶν ἐκχωρήσωσιν Ἰλλυριοί, οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις
ἐπανῆλθον ἄπρακτοι, ὁ δὲ Βάρδυλις πιστεύων ταῖς
τε προγεγενημέναις νίκαις καὶ ταῖς τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν
ἀνδραγαθίαις ἀπήντα τοῖς πολεμίοις μετὰ τῆς δυ-
νάμεως· εἶχεν δὲ πεζοὺς μὲν μυρίους ἐπιλέκτους,
5 ἱππεῖς δὲ εἰς πεντακοσίους. ὡς δ' ἤγγιζον ἀλλήλοις
τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ μετὰ βοῆς πολλῆς συνέρραξαν
εἰς τὴν μάχην, ὁ μὲν Φίλιππος ἔχων τὸ δεξιὸν
κέρας καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν Μακεδόνων συνα-
γωνιζομένους τοῖς μὲν ἱππεῦσι παρήγγειλεν παριπ-
πεῦσαι καὶ πλαγίοις ἐμβαλεῖν τοῖς βαρβάροις, αὐτὸς
δὲ κατὰ στόμα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιπεσὼν καρτερὰν
6 συνεστήσατο μάχην. οἱ δ' Ἰλλυριοὶ συντάξαντες
ἑαυτοὺς εἰς πλινθίον ἐρρωμένως συνεστήσαντο[1] τὸν
κίνδυνον. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἦν
ἰσόρροπος ἡ μάχη διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς παρ'
ἀμφοτέροις ἀνδραγαθίας, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἀναιρου-
μένων ἔτι δὲ πλειόνων τιτρωσκομένων ὁ κίνδυνος
δεῦρο κἀκεῖσε τὰς ῥοπὰς ἐλάμβανεν, ταλαντευό-
μενος αἰεὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἀρεταῖς· μετὰ
δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ἱππέων ἐκ πλαγίου καὶ κατὰ νώτου
βιαζομένων, τοῦ δὲ Φιλίππου μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων
ἡρωικῶς ἀγωνισαμένου συνηναγκάσθη τὸ πλῆθος
7 τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν πρὸς φυγὴν ὁρμῆσαι. γενομένης δὲ
τῆς διώξεως ἐπὶ πολὺν τόπον καὶ πολλῶν κατὰ
τὴν φυγὴν ἀναιρεθέντων ὁ μὲν Φίλιππος ἀνακα-
λεσάμενος τῇ σάλπιγγι τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ στήσας
τρόπαιον ἔθαψεν τῶν ἰδίων τοὺς τετελευτηκότας,
οἱ δ' Ἰλλυριοὶ διαπρεσβευσάμενοι καὶ τῶν Μακε-
δονικῶν πόλεων πασῶν ἐκχωρήσαντες ἔτυχον τῆς

[1] So MSS. here and Book 15. 86. 1; Fischer reads ὑπεστ., cp. Wesseling and Book 12. 61. 3.

from all the Macedonian cities, the envoys returned 359/8 B.C.
without having accomplished their purpose, and Bardylis, relying upon his previous victories and the gallant conduct of the Illyrians, came out to meet the enemy with his army; and he had ten thousand picked infantry soldiers and about five hundred cavalry. When the armies approached each other and with a great outcry clashed in the battle, Philip, commanding the right wing, which consisted of the flower of the Macedonians serving under him, ordered his cavalry to ride past the ranks of the barbarians and attack them on the flank, while he himself falling on the enemy in a frontal assault began a bitter combat.[1] But the Illyrians, forming themselves into a square, courageously entered the fray. And at first for a long while the battle was evenly poised because of the exceeding gallantry displayed on both sides, and as many were slain and still more wounded, the fortune of battle vacillated first one way then the other, being constantly swayed by the valorous deeds of the combatants; but later as the horsemen pressed on from the flank and rear and Philip with the flower of his troops fought with true heroism, the mass of the Illyrians was compelled to take hastily to flight. When the pursuit had been kept up for a considerable distance and many had been slain in their flight, Philip recalled the Macedonians with the trumpet and erecting a trophy of victory buried his own dead, while the Illyrians, having sent ambassadors and withdrawn from all the Macedonian cities, obtained peace. But

[1] See chap. 8. 1; Justin, 7. 6. 7 and Frontinus, *Strategemata*, 2. 3. 2. Beloch has a critical account of this battle, which he places near Monastir, in *Griechische Geschichte*², 3. 1. 226, note 2. He believes that the plan of battle was Parmenio's.

εἰρήνης. ἀνῃρέθησαν δὲ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ πλείους τῶν ἑπτακισχιλίων.

5. Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπεὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Μακεδονικὴν καὶ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα διήλθομεν, μεταβησόμεθα πρὸς τὰς ἑτερογενεῖς πράξεις. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Σικελίαν Διονύσιος ὁ τῶν Συρακοσίων τύραννος ὁ νεώτερος παρειληφὼς μὲν τὴν δυναστείαν ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω καιροῖς, ἄπρακτος δ' ὢν καὶ πολὺ τοῦ πατρὸς καταδεέστερος προσεποιεῖτο διὰ τὴν ἀπραγίαν εἰρη-
2 νικὸς εἶναι καὶ πρᾶος τὸν τρόπον. διόπερ πρὸς Καρχηδονίους διαδεδεγμένος τὸν πόλεμον πρός τε τούτους εἰρήνην συνέθετο καὶ πρὸς Λευκανοὺς ὁμοίως διαπολεμήσας ἀργῶς ἐπί τινα χρόνον καὶ ταῖς τελευταίαις μάχαις ἐπὶ τοῦ προτερήματος γενόμενος ἀσμένως πρὸς αὐτοὺς κατελύσατο τὸν πό-
3 λεμον. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀπουλίαν δύο πόλεις ἔκτισε βουλόμενος ἀσφαλῆ τοῖς πλέουσι τὸν Ἰόνιον πόρον ποιῆσαι· οἱ γὰρ τὴν παραθαλάττιον οἰκοῦντες βάρβαροι λῃστρίσι πολλαῖς πλέοντες ἄπλουν τοῖς ἐμπόροις παρεσκεύαζον πᾶσαν τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν
4 θάλατταν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δοὺς ἑαυτὸν εἰς βίον εἰρηνικὸν ἐξέλυσε μὲν τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς[1] γυμνασίας, μεγίστην δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην δυναστειῶν παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς λεγομένην ἀδάμαντι δεδέσθαι

[1] So Fischer (cp. Books 17. 2. 3; 18. 42. 2): πολεμίοις PX, πολέμοις *cet.*

[1] For the succession of Dionysius II see Book 15. 74. 5.
[2] For the character of Dionysius II see Plutarch, *Dion*, 7. 3-4 and Hackforth, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 272-273.

more than seven thousand Illyrians were slain in this battle. 359/8 B.C.

5. Since we have finished with the affairs of Macedonia and Illyria, we shall now turn to events of a different kind. In Sicily Dionysius the Younger, tyrant of the Syracusans, who had succeeded to the realm[1] in the period preceding this but was indolent and much inferior to his father, pretended because of his lack of enterprise to be peacefully inclined and mild of disposition.[2] Accordingly, since he had inherited the war with the Carthaginians,[3] he made peace with them and likewise pursued war listlessly for some time against the Lucanians[4] and then, in the latest battles having had the advantage, he gladly brought to a close the war against them. In Apulia he founded two cities because he wished to make safe for navigators the passage across the Ionian Sea; for the barbarians who dwelt along the coast were accustomed to put out in numerous pirate ships and render the whole shore along the Adriatic Sea unsafe for merchants. Thereafter, having given himself over to a peaceful existence, he relieved the soldiers of their drills in warfare and though he had succeeded to the greatest of the realms in Europe, the tyranny that was said by his father to be bound

[3] The cessation of activities against Carthage is noted in Book 15. 73. 4.
[4] No mention is made previously of this war with the Lucanians. In Book 14. 100. 5 Dionysius I is said to have made an alliance with the Lucanians and his policy of supporting them against the Italiot Greeks is clearly shown in chapter 101 of that Book. This seems to be the war mentioned in Plutarch, *Dion*, 16. 3 and Plato, *Epistles*, 3. 317 A. For this war see Costanzi, "De bello Lucanico quod Dionysius minor recens ab imperio composuerit," *Rivista di Filologia*, 26 (1898), 450 ff.

τυραννίδα διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνανδρίαν παραδόξως ἀπ-
έβαλεν. τὰς δὲ αἰτίας τῆς καταλύσεως καὶ τὰς
κατὰ μέρος πράξεις ἀναγράφειν πειρασόμεθα.

6. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος γὰρ Ἀθήνησι Κηφισοδότου
Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Γάιον Λικίνιον καὶ
Γάιον Σουλπίκιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Δίων ὁ Ἱππα-
ρίνου, Συρακοσίων ὑπάρχων ἐπιφανέστατος, ἔφυγεν
ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας καὶ διὰ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς ψυχῆς
ἠλευθέρωσε Συρακοσίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Σικε-
2 λιώτας διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς αἰτίας. ὁ πρεσβύτερος
Διονύσιος ἐκ δυεῖν γυναικῶν ἦν πεπαιδοποιημένος,
ἐκ μὲν τῆς πρώτης Λοκρίδος οὔσης τὸ γένος Διονύ-
σιον τὸν διαδεξάμενον τὴν τυραννίδα, ἐκ δὲ τῆς
δευτέρας Ἱππαρίνου θυγατρὸς οὔσης, εὐδοκιμω-
τάτου Συρακοσίων, δύο παῖδας, Ἱππαρῖνον καὶ
3 Νυσαῖον.[1] ἐτύγχανε δὲ τῆς δευτέρας γυναικὸς
ἀδελφὸς ὢν Δίων, ἀνὴρ ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ μεγάλην ἔχων
προκοπὴν καὶ κατ' ἀνδρείαν καὶ στρατηγίαν πολὺ
4 προέχων τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν Συρακοσίων. οὗτος δὲ
διὰ τὴν εὐγένειαν καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς ψυχῆς
εἰς ὑποψίαν ἦλθε τῷ τυράννῳ, δόξας ἀξιόχρεως
εἶναι καταλῦσαι τὴν τυραννίδα. φοβούμενος οὖν
αὐτὸν ὁ Διονύσιος ἔκρινεν ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι τὸν
ἄνδρα, συλλαβὼν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. ὁ δὲ Δίων αἰσθό-
μενος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκρύφθη παρά τισιν τῶν
φίλων, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας εἰς

[1] So Wesseling (cp. Theopompus, frs. 179 and 187 (Oxford); Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 1; Nepos, *Dion*, 1; Aelian, *Varia Historia*, 2. 41): Νυσαῖον PX, Ναρσαῖον cet.

[1] This phrase is found in chap. 70. 2, in Plutarch, *Dion*, 7. 3 and 10. 3, and in Aelian, *Varia Historia*, 6. 12.

fast by adamantine chains,[1] yet, strange to say, he 359/8 B.C.
lost it all by his pusillanimity. The causes for its dissolution and the various events I shall attempt to record.

6. When Cephisodotus was archon at Athens, the 358/7 B.C.
Romans elected as consuls Gaius Licinius and Gaius Sulpicius. During their term of office Dion, son of Hipparinus and the most distinguished of the Syracusans, escaped from Sicily[2] and by his nobility of spirit set free the Syracusans and the other Sicilian Greeks in the following manner. Dionysius the Elder had begotten children of two wives, of the first, who was a Locrian by birth, Dionysius, who succeeded to the tyranny, and of the second, who was the daughter of Hipparinus, a Syracusan of great renown, two sons Hipparinus and Nysaeus. It chanced that the brother of the second wife was Dion, a man who had great proficiency in philosophy[3] and, in the matter of courage and skill in the art of war, far surpassed the other Syracusans of his time. Dion, because of his high birth and nobility of spirit, fell under suspicion with the tyrant, for he was considered powerful enough to overthrow the tyranny. So, fearing him, Dionysius decided to get him out of the way by arresting him on a charge involving the death penalty. But Dion, becoming aware of this, was at first concealed in the homes of some of his friends, and

[2] According to Plutarch, *Dion*, 14. 5, Dion was placed on a boat by Dionysius and sent to Italy (Nepos says to Corinth, *Dion*, 3 f.). This must have happened considerably earlier as Plato (*Epistles*, 7. 329 c) says that it happened three months after his arrival in 367. Diodorus has evidently compressed the earlier details into this year.

[3] For the association of Plato and Dion see Plato, *Epistles*, 7. 327 A; *Anth. Pal.* 7. 99 (*L.C.L.* 2. 60).

Πελοπόννησον, ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Μεγακλῆν καὶ Ἡρακλείδην[1] τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τεταγμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου. καταπλεύσας δ' εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον τοὺς μὲν Κορινθίους ἠξίου συνεπιλαβέσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερώσεως[2] τῶν Συρακοσίων, αὐτὸς δὲ μισθοφόρους συνῆγε καὶ πανοπλίας συνήθροιζε. ταχὺ δὲ πολλῶν ὑπακουόντων πανοπλίας τε παρεσκευάζετο καὶ μισθοφόρους συχνούς, καὶ φορτηγοὺς δύο ναῦς μισθωσάμενος τά τε ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἐνθέμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ταύτας τὰς φορτίδας ἔχων ἐξέπλευσεν ἐκ Ζακύνθου τῆς πρὸς Κεφαλληνίαν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν, Ἡρακλείδην[3] δὲ ἀπέλιπεν τριήρεις τινὰς καὶ ἑτέρας φορτηγοὺς[4] ἄξοντα κατόπιν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσσας.

7. Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Ἀνδρόμαχος ὁ Ταυρομενίτης, Τιμαίου μὲν τοῦ τὰς ἱστορίας συγγράψαντος πατὴρ ὤν, πλούτῳ δὲ καὶ ψυχῆς λαμπρότητι διαφέρων ἤθροισε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Νάξου τῆς κατασκαφείσης ὑπὸ Διονυσίου περιλειφθέντας. οἰκίσας δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Νάξου λόφον τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Ταῦρον καὶ μείνας κατ' αὐτὸν πλείω χρόνον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ταύρου μονῆς ὠνόμασε Ταυρο-

[1] So Simson and Wesseling (cp. chap. 16. 2 and Plutarch, *Dion*, 12, 32; Nepos, *Dion*, 5): Χαρικλείδην.

[2] Fischer (cp. chap. 10. 3): ἐλευθερίας.

[3] Ἡρακλείδη PX, Χαρικλείδην or -δη *cet.*

[4] So MSS.; Fischer conjectures τριήρεις εἴκοσι (cp. chap. 16. 2) καί τινας ἑτέρας φ.

[1] Corinth was probably selected, not only because of its favourable location, but because it was the mother-city of

then escaped from Sicily to the Peloponnese in the 358/7 B.C.
company of his brother Megacles and of Heracleides who had been appointed commandant of the garrison by the tyrant. When he landed at Corinth, he besought the Corinthians[1] to collaborate with him in setting free the Syracusans, and he himself began to gather mercenary troops and to collect suits of armour.[2] Soon many gave ear to his pleas and he gradually accumulated large supplies of armour and many mercenaries,[3] then, hiring two merchantmen, he loaded on board arms and men, while he himself with these transports sailed from Zacynthus, which is near Cephallenia, to Sicily, but he left Heracleides behind to bring up later some triremes and other merchantmen to Syracuse.

7. While these things were going on, Andromachus of Tauromenium,[4] who was the father of Timaeus, the author of the Histories, and distinguished for his wealth and nobility of spirit, gathered together the men who had survived the razing of Naxos by Dionysius. Having settled the hill above Naxos called Tauros and remained there a considerable time, he called it Tauromenium from his "remaining on

Syracuse and very possibly favoured the oligarchy Dion planned to set up (see Plutarch, *Dion*, 53).

[2] Dion spent about ten years in Greece, 366–357 (Hackforth, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 275), in close touch with the Academy. For preparations see Nepos, *Dion*, 5.

[3] Diodorus says 1000 (chap. 9. 5), to which if 1500 under Heracleides (chap. 16. 2) are added the number 3000 is approximated (chap. 17. 3 and Anaximenes, *De Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, 8. 3. 1429 b). For other details of the expedition see Plutarch, *Dion*, 22-24. For a critical account see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², 3. 1. 257 and note 3, followed by Hackforth, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 277.

[4] See chap. 68. 8 and Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 10. 4.

μένιον. ταχὺ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐπίδοσιν λαμβανούσης οἱ μὲν οἰκήτορες μεγάλους περιεποιήσαντο πλούτους, ἡ δὲ πόλις ἀξιόλογον ἀξίωμα περιποιησαμένη τὸ τελευταῖον ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίῳ Καίσαρος ἀναστήσαντος τοὺς Ταυρομενίτας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀποικίαν ἐδέξατο.

2 *Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις οἱ τὴν Εὔβοιαν κατοικοῦντες ἐστασίασαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ τῶν μὲν τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς τῶν δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπικαλεσαμένων συνέστη πόλεμος κατὰ τὴν Εὔβοιαν. γενομένων δὲ πλειόνων συμπλοκῶν καὶ ἀκροβολισμῶν ὁτὲ μὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι προετέρουν ὁτὲ δ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν νίκην ἀπεφέροντο. μεγάλη μὲν οὖν παράταξις οὐδεμία συνετελέσθη· τῆς δὲ νήσου διὰ τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον καταφθαρείσης καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων παρ' ἀμφοτέρων διαφθαρέντων μόγις ταῖς συμφοραῖς νουθετηθέντες εἰς ὁμόνοιαν ἦλθον καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην συνέθεντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους.*

Οἱ μὲν οὖν Βοιωτοὶ τὴν εἰς οἶκον ἐπάνοδον ποι-
3 *ησάμενοι τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἦγον· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι Χίων*

[1] For a different story see Book 14. 59. 2. Naxos (three miles from Tauromenium) was destroyed by Dionysius in 403 (Book 14. 15. 2) and its territory assigned to neighbouring Siculi (*ibid.* 3). These occupied the hill of Taurus to the north of Naxos and gave it the name Tauromenium. The Siculi in 394 warded off a surprise winter attack of Dionysius (Book 14. 87-88). By the peace of 392 Dionysius regained Tauromenium, expelled the Siculi, and settled his mercenaries on the spot (Book 14. 96. 4). Probably this present settlement by Andromachus is to be regarded as a new foundation. See Wesseling's note on Book 14. 59.

[2] Since Tauromenium had been a stronghold of Sextus Pompey, Augustus, as a precautionary measure and because of its strong position commanding the coast road between Syracuse and Messenê, expelled the former inhabitants to

Tauros." [1] And as the city made quick progress, the inhabitants laid up great wealth, and the city, which had won considerable repute, finally in our own lifetime, after Caesar [2] had expelled the inhabitants of Tauromenium from their native land, received a colony of Roman citizens. 358/7 B.C.

While these things were going on, the inhabitants of Euboea fell into strife among themselves, and when one party summoned the Boeotians to its assistance and the other the Athenians, war broke out over all Euboea. A good many close combats and skirmishes occurred in which sometimes the Thebans were superior and sometimes the Athenians carried off the victory. Although no important pitched battle was fought to a finish, yet when the island had been devastated by the intestinal warfare and many men had been slain on both sides, at long last admonished by the disasters, the parties came to an agreement and made peace with one another.[3]

Now the Boeotians returned home and remained quiet, but the Athenians, who had suffered the revolt

make room for new colonists. It may have been one of the Sicilian cities colonized by Augustus in Dio Cassius, 54. 7. 1 (21 B.C.).

[3] Diodorus has placed the Euboean war wrongly in the archonship of Cephisodotus (358/7). The war lasted only thirty days according to Aeschines, *In Ctesiphonta*, 85 and occurred under Agathocles (357/6). Diocles was the Athenian commander (Demosthenes, 21. 174) and he was general in 357/6 (Dittenberger, *Syllogê*, 1^{3}. 190. 23 and note 9). The treaty of peace is also dated under the archonship of Agathocles (*ibid.* 20 = *IG*, 2^{2}. 124). That the Social War had already begun is proved by the intentional erasure of Chabrias' (chap. 7. 3) name from this inscription. He was no longer general when the treaty was signed since he had fallen at Chios. For discussion see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], 3. 2. 258 and 3. 1. 238, note 2.

καὶ Ῥοδίων καὶ Κῴων, ἔτι δὲ Βυζαντίων ἀποστάντων ἐνέπεσον εἰς πόλεμον τὸν ὀνομασθέντα συμμαχικόν, ὃς διέμεινεν ἔτη τρία. ἑλόμενοι δὲ στρατηγοὺς Χάρητα καὶ Χαβρίαν ἀπέστειλαν μετὰ δυνάμεως. οὗτοι δὲ πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν Χίον κατέλαβον παραγεγονότας συμμάχους τοῖς Χίοις παρὰ Βυζαντίων καὶ Ῥοδίων καὶ Κῴων, ἔτι δὲ Μαυσώλου τοῦ Καρῶν δυνάστου. ἐκτάξαντες δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπολιόρκουν τὴν πόλιν κατὰ γῆν ἅμα καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Χάρης τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγούμενος κατὰ γῆν προσῄει τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ[1] τῆς πόλεως ἐκχυθέντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν διηγωνίζετο· ὁ δὲ Χαβρίας προσπλεύσας τῷ λιμένι ναυμαχίαν καρτερὰν συνεστήσατο καὶ τῆς
4 νεὼς τοῖς ἐμβόλοις ἀναρραγείσης κατεπονεῖτο. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων νεῶν εἴξαντες τῷ καιρῷ διεσώθησαν, ὁ δ' ἀντὶ τῆς ἥττης ἀλλαξάμενος τὸν εὐκλεᾶ θάνατον ἀγωνιζόμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς νεὼς καὶ τρωθεὶς ἐτελεύτησε.

8. Περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς Φίλιππος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς μεγάλῃ παρατάξει νενικηκὼς τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ πάντας τοὺς μέχρι τῆς Λυχνίτιδος καλουμένης λίμνης κατοικοῦντας ὑπηκόους πεποιημένος ἀνέκαμψεν εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν, συντεθειμένος ἔνδοξον εἰρήνην πρὸς τοὺς Ἰλλυριούς,

[1] ἐκ added by Kallenberg.

[1] Again Diodorus is wrong in the dating of the Social War. The war opened with the attack on Chios in which Chabrias fell. For reasons given in the preceding note this must be the year 357/6. Diodorus (chap. 22. 2) closes the war in the year of Elpines, 356/5, after it has lasted "four" years. Dionysius (*De Lysia Iudicium*, 12, p. 480) placed the

of Chios, Rhodes, and Cos and, moreover, of Byzantium, became involved in the war called the Social War which lasted three years.[1] The Athenians chose Chares and Chabrias as generals and dispatched them with an army. The two generals on sailing into Chios found that allies had arrived to assist the Chians from Byzantium, Rhodes, and Cos, and also from Mausolus,[2] the tyrant of Caria. They then drew up their forces and began to besiege the city both by land and by sea. Now Chares, who commanded the infantry force, advanced against the walls by land and began a struggle with the enemy who poured out on him from the city; but Chabrias, sailing up to the harbour, fought a severe naval engagement and was worsted when his ship was shattered by a ramming attack. While the men on the other ships withdrew in the nick of time and saved their lives, he, choosing death with glory instead of defeat, fought on for his ship and died of his wounds.[3] 358/7 B.C.

8. About the same time Philip, king of the Macedonians, who had been victorious over the Illyrians[4] in a great battle and had made subject all the people who dwelt there as far as the lake called Lychnitis,[5] now returned to Macedonia, having arranged a noteworthy peace with the Illyrians and won great acclaim

Social War in the years of Agathocles and Elpines (357/6 and 356/5), which seems to be the correct dating. For discussion see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², 3. 2. 260-262.

[2] Mausolus was the prime instigator of the Social War (see Demosthenes, 15. 3). Yet Byzantium, Rhodes, and Chios had joined forces previously when stirred up by Epameinondas (see Book 15. 79. 1).

[3] See Nepos, *Chabrias*, 4; Plutarch, *Phocion*, 6. 1; Demosthenes, 20. 80 ff.

[4] See chap. 4.

[5] Western border of Macedonia by Lyncestis and Orestis.

περιβόητός τε ὑπάρχων παρὰ τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἐπὶ
2 τοῖς δι' ἀνδρείαν κατωρθωμένοις. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν οἰκούντων ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς αὐτὸν διατεθέντων καὶ πολλὰς ἀφορμὰς δόντων εἰς πόλεμον ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀξιολόγῳ δυνάμει. προσαγαγὼν δὲ τοῖς τείχεσι μηχανὰς καὶ προσβολὰς[1] ἐνεργοὺς καὶ συνεχεῖς ποιησάμενος κατέβαλε μὲν τοῖς κριοῖς μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους, παρεισελθὼν δ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τοῦ πτώματος καὶ τῶν ἀντιστάντων πολλοὺς καταβαλὼν ἐκυρίευσε τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένους ἐφυγάδευσε, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις φιλανθρώπως
3 προσηνέχθη. ἡ δὲ πόλις αὕτη κειμένη κατὰ τῆς Θρᾴκης καὶ τῶν σύνεγγυς τόπων εὐφυῶς πολλὰ συνεβάλετο τῷ Φιλίππῳ πρὸς αὔξησιν. εὐθὺ γὰρ τὴν μὲν Πύδναν ἐχειρώσατο, πρὸς δὲ Ὀλυνθίους συμμαχίαν ἔθετο καὶ Ποτίδαιαν ὡμολόγησε περιποιήσειν αὐτοῖς, ὑπὲρ ἧς Ὀλύνθιοι πολλὴν σπουδὴν
4 ἔσχον κυριεῦσαι τῆς πόλεως. τῶν δ' Ὀλυνθίων βαρεῖαν πόλιν οἰκούντων καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ[2] ἐνοικούντων πολλὴν ἐχόντων[3] ῥοπὴν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον περιμάχητος ἦν ἡ πόλις τοῖς ἡγεμονίας μείζονος ὀρεγομένοις. διόπερ οἵ τε Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος διεφιλοτιμοῦντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ
5 τῆς τῶν Ὀλυνθίων συμμαχίας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ

[1] So Cobet: πολιορκίας.
[2] ἐν ταύτῃ Capps: ταύτην, which Hertlein would delete.
[3] ἐχόντων] Fischer suggests ἔχουσαν (cp. Book 13. 66. 5).

[1] See chap. 3. 3 and explanatory note; also 4. 1.
[2] See Wilcken, *Alexander*, 33.
[3] A good account of Philip's seizures of Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidaea, and Crenides is found in Pickard-Cambridge, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 207-208. This account omits,

among the Macedonians for the successes due to his valour. Thereupon, finding that the people of Amphipolis[1] were ill-disposed toward him and offered many pretexts for war, he entered upon a campaign against them with a considerable force. By bringing siege-engines against the walls[2] and launching severe and continuous assaults, he succeeded in breaching a portion of the wall with his battering rams, whereupon, having entered the city through the breach and struck down many of his opponents, he obtained the mastery of the city and exiled those who were disaffected toward him, but treated the rest considerately.[3] Since this city was favourably situated with regard to Thrace and the neighbouring regions, it contributed greatly to the aggrandizement of Philip. Indeed he immediately reduced Pydna,[4] and made an alliance with the Olynthians[5] in the terms of which he agreed to take over for them Potidaea, a city which the Olynthians had set their hearts on possessing. Since the Olynthians inhabited an important city and because of its huge population had great influence in war, their city was an object of contention for those who sought to extend their supremacy. For this reason the Athenians and Philip were rivals against one another for the alliance with the Olynthians. However that may 358/7 B.C.

as does Diodorus, Athens' declaration of war on Philip's retention of Amphipolis, which is attested by Isocrates, *Philip*, 2; Aeschines, *False Embassy*, 21, 70, 72, *Against Ctesiphon*, 54; and *IG*, 2². 127 (πόλεμος πρὸς Φίλιππον) of the year 356. For Amphipolis see also note on chap. 3. 3; Theopompus, fr. 43 (Oxford); Demosthenes, 1. 8; 2. 6; 7. 27-28; and on the exiles also Dittenberger, *Syllogê*, 1³. 194.
[4] For Pydna see Demosthenes, 20. 63; 1. 5.
[5] For the alliance between Philip and Olynthus see Demosthenes, 23. 108; 2. 14; 6. 20; also Robinson, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 65 (1934), 103-122.

Φίλιππος Ποτίδαιαν ἐκπολιορκήσας τὴν μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουρὰν ἐξήγαγεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ φιλανθρώπως αὐτῇ προσενεγκάμενος ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας (σφόδρα γὰρ εὐλαβεῖτο τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων διὰ τὸ βάρος καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως)· τὴν δὲ πόλιν[1] ἐξανδραποδισάμενος παρέδωκε τοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις, δωρησάμενος ἅμα καὶ τὰς
6 κατὰ τὴν χώραν κτήσεις. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρελθὼν ἐπὶ πόλιν Κρηνίδας ταύτην μὲν ἐπαυξήσας οἰκητόρων πλήθει μετωνόμασε Φιλίππους, ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσαγορεύσας, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν χώραν[2] χρύσεια μέταλλα παντελῶς ὄντα λιτὰ καὶ ἄδοξα ταῖς κατασκευαῖς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ηὔξησεν ὥστε δύνασθαι φέρειν αὐτῷ πρόσοδον πλεῖον ἢ ταλάντων χιλίων.
7 ἐκ δὲ τούτων ταχὺ σωρεύσας πλοῦτον, αἰεὶ μᾶλλον διὰ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῶν χρημάτων εἰς ὑπεροχὴν μεγάλην ἤγαγε τὴν Μακεδονικὴν βασιλείαν· νόμισμα γὰρ χρυσοῦν κόψας τὸ προσαγορευθὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνου Φιλίππειον μισθοφόρων τε δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον συνεστήσατο καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολλοὺς διὰ τούτου προετρέψατο προδότας γενέσθαι τῶν πατρίδων. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων αἱ κατὰ μέρος πράξεις[3] ἕκαστα δηλώσουσιν, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τὰς συνεχεῖς πράξεις μεταβιβάσομεν τὸν λόγον.

9. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος γὰρ Ἀθήνησιν Ἀγαθοκλέους Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκον Φάβιον καὶ

[1] πόλιν Gemistus; so Wesseling, Fischer: Πύδναν.
[2] χώραν] πόλιν PX. [3] πράξεις] τάξεις P.

[1] On Crenides see chap. 3. 7 and note.
[2] Worth about $6.25. According to Seltman, *Greek Coins*,

be, Philip, when he had forced Potidaea to surrender, 358/7 B.C.
led the Athenian garrison out of the city and, treating it considerately, sent it back to Athens—for he was particularly solicitous toward the people of Athens on account of the importance and repute of their city—but, having sold the inhabitants into slavery, he handed it over to the Olynthians, presenting them also at the same time with all the properties in the territory of Potidaea. After this he went to the city of Crenides,[1] and having increased its size with a large number of inhabitants, changed its name to Philippi, giving it his own name, and then, turning to the gold mines in its territory, which were very scanty and insignificant, he increased their output so much by his improvements that they could bring him a revenue of more than a thousand talents. And because from these mines he had soon amassed a fortune, with the abundance of money he raised the Macedonian kingdom higher and higher to a greatly superior position, for with the gold coins which he struck, which came to be known from his name as Philippeioi,[2] he organized a large force of mercenaries, and by using these coins for bribes induced many Greeks to become betrayers of their native lands. But concerning these matters the several events, when recorded, will explain everything in detail, and we shall now shift our account back to the events in the order of their occurrence.

9. When Agathocles was archon at Athens, the 357/6 B.C.
Romans elected as consuls Marcus Fabius and Gaius

200-201, the issue of Philippi bore the name of the town ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ (see Plate XLVI 7) and only after 348 began the issue of Philippeioi. See also West, "The Early Diplomacy of Philip II of Macedon Illustrated by his Coins," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3 (1923), 169 ff.

Γάιον Πόπλιον.[1] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Δίων ὁ Ἱππαρίνου
κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν καταλύσων τὴν Διο-
νυσίου τυραννίδα, ἐλαχίσταις δὲ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ
πάντων χρησάμενος ἀφορμαῖς μεγίστην δυναστείαν
τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην κατέλυσεν ἀνελπίστως.
2 τίς γὰρ ἂν πιστεύσειεν ὅτι δυσὶ φορτηγοῖς ναυσὶ
καταπλεύσας περιεγένετο δυνάστου ναῦς μὲν μα-
κρὰς ἔχοντος τετρακοσίας, στρατιώτας δὲ πεζοὺς
μὲν εἰς δέκα μυριάδας, ἱππεῖς δὲ μυρίους, ὅπλων
δὲ καὶ σίτου καὶ χρημάτων τοσαύτην παρασκευὴν
ὅσην εἰκός ἐστι[2] κεκτῆσθαι τὸν μέλλοντα χορηγήσειν
δαψιλῶς ταῖς προειρημέναις δυνάμεσι, χωρὶς δὲ
τῶν εἰρημένων πόλιν μὲν ἔχοντα μεγίστην τῶν
Ἑλληνίδων, λιμένας δὲ καὶ νεώρια καὶ κατεσκευα-
σμένας ἀκροπόλεις ἀναλώτους, ἔτι δὲ συμμάχων
3 δυνατῶν ἔχοντα πλῆθος; αἰτία δ' ὑπῆρχε τῷ
Δίωνι τῶν προτερημάτων μάλιστα μὲν ἡ ἰδία λαμ-
πρότης τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐλευθε-
ροῦσθαι μελλόντων εὔνοια, τὸ δὲ τούτων ἁπάντων
μεῖζον ἥ τε ἀνανδρία τοῦ τυράννου καὶ τὸ τῶν
ἀρχομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν μῖσος· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα
πρὸς ἕνα καιρὸν συνδραμόντα παραδόξως τὰς ἀπι-
στουμένας πράξεις πρὸς τέλος ἤγαγεν.
4 Ἡμεῖς δ' ἀφέμενοι τούτων τῶν λόγων ἐπὶ τὴν
ἀναγραφὴν τῶν κατὰ μέρος πεπραγμένων τρεψό-
μεθα. Δίων γὰρ ἐκ Ζακύνθου τῆς πρὸς Κεφαλ-

[1] So MSS. (Πετίλιον Stephanus marg.); Ποιτήλιον Rhodoman (cp. Livy, 7. 11; *Fasti Consulares*).
[2] ἦν RF, followed by Dindorf.

[1] Confirmed by Plutarch, *Dion*, 25. 1. The port was Heracleia Minoa, halfway between Acragas and Selinus (see *infra*, § 4).

Poplius. During their term of office, Dion son of Hipparinus sailed to Sicily intending to overthrow the tyranny of Dionysius, and with slenderer resources than those of any conqueror before his time he succeeded contrary to all expectation in overthrowing the greatest realm in all Europe. Who, indeed, would have believed that, putting ashore with two[1] merchantmen, he could actually have overcome the despot who had at his disposal four hundred ships[2] of war, infantry numbering nearly one hundred thousand, ten thousand horse, and as great a store of arms, food, and money as one in all probability possessed who had to maintain lavishly the aforesaid forces; and, apart from all we have mentioned, had a city which was the largest of the cities of Hellas, and harbours and docks and fortified citadels[3] that were impregnable, and, besides, a great number of powerful allies? The cause for Dion's successes was, above all others, his own nobility of spirit, his courage, and the willing support of those who were to be liberated, but still more important than all these were the pusillanimity of the tyrant and his subjects' hatred of him; for when all these characteristics merged at a single critical moment, they unexpectedly brought to a successful close deeds which were considered impossible. 357/6 B.C.

But we must forgo these reflections and turn to the detailed narrative of the events as they severally occurred. Dion, having sailed from Zacynthos, which

[2] Confirmed by chap. 70. 3; Plutarch, *Dion*, 14. 2; Aelian, *Varia Historia*, 6. 12. Nepos, *Dion*, 5. 3 gives "quingentis longis navibus."
[3] Of Ortygia and Epipolae, the work of Dionysius I. See Book 14. 7. 1-3, 5; and Book 14. 18 for these and other constructions.

ληνίαν δυσὶ φορτίσι ναυσὶν ἀναχθεὶς κατέπλευσε τῆς Ἀκραγαντίνης εἰς τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Μίνῳαν. αὕτη δὲ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὑπὸ Μίνωος ἐκτίσθη τοῦ βασιλέως Κρητῶν, καθ᾽ ὃν καιρὸν ζητῶν Δαίδαλον ἐπεξενώθη Κωκάλῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Σικανῶν· κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καιροὺς ἡ μὲν πόλις αὕτη τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ὑπήκουεν,[1] ὁ δ᾽ ἐπιστάτης αὐτῆς, ὄνομα Πάραλος, φίλος ὢν Δίωνος προθύμως
5 ὑπεδέξατ᾽ αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Δίων ἐξελόμενος ἐκ τῶν φορτηγῶν πανοπλίας πεντακισχιλίας τῷ Παράλῳ παρέδωκεν καὶ παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν ἁμάξαις παρακομίσαι πρὸς τὰς Συρακούσσας· αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς μισθοφόρους παραλαβών, ὄντας χιλίους, προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὰς Συρακούσσας. ἐν παρόδῳ δὲ τούς τε Ἀκραγαντίνους καὶ Γελῴους καί τινας τῶν τὴν μεσόγειον οἰκούντων Σικανῶν τε καὶ Σικελῶν, ἔτι δὲ Καμαριναίους[2] πείσας συνελευθερῶσαι τοὺς Συρακοσίους
6 προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν τοῦ τυράννου. πολλῶν δὲ πάντοθεν συρρυέντων μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ταχὺ πλείους τῶν δισμυρίων στρατιωτῶν ἠθροίσθησαν. οὐδὲν δ᾽ ἧττον καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας Ἑλλήνων καὶ Μεσσηνίων μετεπέμφθησαν καὶ πάντες σὺν πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἧκον.

10. Ὡς δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις[3] τῆς Συρακοσίας ὁ Δίων ἦν, ἀπήντα πρὸς αὐτὸν πλῆθος ἀνόπλων ἀν-

[1] Dindorf: ὑπήκουσεν.
[2] After Καμαριναίους MSS. have καὶ Μαδιναίους, deleted by most editors. [3] So Hertlein: τοὺς ὅρους.

[1] For this myth see Book 4. 77-79. There is no mention of "founding" Minoa in chap. 79.
[2] Plutarch, *Dion*, 25-26. 3, gives a more detailed account of Dion's voyage and his landing at Minoa. Synalus (*ibid.*

lies by Cephallenia, with two merchantmen, put in at the harbour of Acragas named Minoa. This had been founded of olden time by Minos, king of the Cretans, on the occasion when, in his search for Daedalus, he had been entertained by Cocalus, king of the Sicanians,[1] but in the period with which we are concerned this city was subject to the Carthaginians, and its governor, named Paralus,[2] who was a friend of Dion, received him enthusiastically. Dion, having unloaded from the merchantmen five thousand suits of armour, handed them over to Paralus and requested him to transport them on wagons to Syracuse, while he himself, taking along the mercenaries [3] numbering a thousand, led them against Syracuse. On the march he persuaded the peoples of Acragas, Gela, and some of the Sicanians and Sicels who dwelt in the interior, also the people of Camarina, to join in the liberation of the Syracusans, and then advanced to overthrow the tyrant. Since many men with their arms streamed in from all sides, soon more than twenty thousand soldiers were gathered. Likewise many also of the Greeks from Italy and of the Messenians were summoned, and all came in haste with great enthusiasm.[4] 357/6 B.C.

10. When Dion was on the borders of the Syracusan territory, there came to meet him a host of men with-

25. 5) is there the name given to the Carthaginian commander, Dion's friend. It is very possible that Carthage favoured Dion's project since it gave every indication of weakening the military power of Syracuse (see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², 3. 1. 258).
[3] These seem to be the mercenaries he had brought, not new ones (see chap. 6. 5).
[4] See the account in Plutarch, *Dion*, 26-27 and Hackforth, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 278.

θρώπων ἔκ τε τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς πόλεως· ἀπίστως γὰρ διακείμενος ὁ Διονύσιος πρὸς τοὺς Συρακοσίους
2 πολλῶν τὰ ὅπλα παρῄρητο.[1] κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ὁ μὲν τύραννος περὶ τὰς νεοκτίστους πόλεις κατὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν διέτριβε μετὰ πολλῶν δυνάμεων, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν Συρακουσσῶν ἀπολειφθέντες ἡγεμόνες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπειρῶντο μετακαλεῖσθαι τοὺς Συρακοσίους ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποστάσεως· ἀκατασχέτου δὲ τῆς ὁρμῆς τῶν ὄχλων οὔσης ἀπογνόντες[2] τοὺς μισθοφόρους καὶ τοὺς τὰ τοῦ δυνάστου φρονοῦντας ἤθροισαν καὶ τὰς τάξεις πληρώσαντες
3 τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσιν ἐπιθέσθαι διέγνωσαν. Δίων δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἀνόπλοις τῶν Συρακοσίων διέδωκε τὰς πεντακισχιλίας πανοπλίας, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν τοῖς παρατυχοῦσιν ὅπλοις συνεσκεύασεν. συναγαγὼν δ' ἅπαντας εἰς κοινὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπεφαίνετο μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἥκειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθέρωσιν τῶν Σικελιωτῶν, παρεκάλει δὲ στρατηγοὺς αἱρεῖσθαι τοὺς εὐθέτους πρὸς τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τῆς αὐτονομίας καὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς ὅλης τυραννίδος. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ὥσπερ ἀπὸ μιᾶς φωνῆς ἀνεβόησε στρατηγοὺς αἱρεῖσθαι τόν τε Δίωνα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν
4 αὐτοῦ Μεγακλῆν αὐτοκράτορας. εὐθὺς οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκτάξας τὴν δύναμιν προσῆγε τῇ πόλει. οὐδενὸς δ' ἀντιποιουμένου τῶν ὑπαίθρων ἀδεῶς εἰσῆλθεν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους καὶ διὰ τῆς

[1] So Gemistus: παρῃρεῖτο.
[2] So Dindorf; τὴν διὰ τῶν λόγων σύνθεσιν ἀπογνόντες Fischer (cp. Book 17. 55. 1): ἐπιγνόντες.

[1] That Dionysius was in Italy is attested by Plutarch, *Dion*, 26. 1 and Nepos, *Dion*, 5. 4. If Plutarch is correct in placing him at Caulonia (*ibid.* 26. 4) as Diodorus does in chap. 11. 3,

out arms both from the countryside and from the city; 357/6 B.C.
for Dionysius, being suspicious of the Syracusans, had disarmed many of them. About this time the tyrant was sojourning in the newly founded cities[1] along the Adriatic with large forces, and the commanders who had been left in charge of the garrison of Syracuse at first attempted to summon back the Syracusans from their revolt, but when the impulse of the mobs could not be checked they gave up in despair and gathered mercenaries and those who favoured the cause of the tyrant, and having filled their ranks decided to attack the insurgents. Dion distributed the five thousand suits of armour[2] to such of the Syracusans as were unarmed, and equipped the rest of the able-bodied with weapons that came to hand. Then having brought them all to a general assembly, he disclosed that he had come for the liberation of the Greeks of Sicily, and he urged them to elect as generals those men who were well qualified to effect the restoration of their independence and the dissolution of the entire tyranny. The crowd as with one voice cried out that it chose Dion and his brother Megacles[3] as generals with absolute power.[4] Accordingly he drew up his army in line of battle immediately at the close of the assembly and advanced upon the city. Since no one disputed with him the open country, he entered fearlessly within the walls, and making his way through

he could not have been by the Adriatic. Caulonia, on the east coast of Bruttium, was destroyed by Dionysius the Elder in 389 B.C., its inhabitants removed to Syracuse, and its territory given to the Locrians for settlement (see Book 14. 106. 3). In this sense it might be called a new foundation.

[2] See chap. 6. 5.
[3] See chap. 6. 4.
[4] See the interpretation of this manœuvre by Hackforth, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 279.

Ἀχραδινῆς πορευθεὶς εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν κατεστρατοπέδευσεν, οὐδενὸς τολμῶντος ἐπεξιέναι. ὁ δὲ σύμπας ἀριθμὸς ἦν τῶν μετὰ Δίωνος στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν πεντακισμυρίων. οὗτοι δὲ πάντες ἐστεφανωμένοι κατῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν προηγουμένου τοῦ τε Δίωνος καὶ τοῦ Μεγακλέους καὶ μετὰ τούτων τριάκοντα Συρακοσίων, οἳ μόνοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον φυγάδων Συρακοσίοις μετασχεῖν τῶν κινδύνων[1] ἠθέλησαν.

11. Τῆς δὲ πόλεως πάσης μετημφιεσμένης ἀντὶ τῆς δουλείας τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ σκυθρωπὸν τῆς τυραννίδος εἰς πανηγυρικὴν ἱλαρότητα τῆς τύχης ἀγούσης πᾶσα οἰκία θυσιῶν καὶ χαρᾶς ἔγεμε, τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις ἑστίαις θυμιώντων καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν εὐχαριστούντων τοῖς θεοῖς, περὶ δὲ τῶν μελλόντων εὐχὰς ἀγαθὰς ποιουμένων. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀνελπίστοις εὐημερίαις ὀλολυγμὸς πολὺς καὶ καθ'
2 ἅπασαν τὴν πόλιν συνδρομαί. οὐδεὶς δ' ἦν ἐλεύθερος, οὐ δοῦλος, οὐ ξένος, ὃς οὐκ ἔσπευδεν ἰδεῖν τὸν Δίωνα, καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πάντες ἀπεδέχοντο μειζόνως ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον. καὶ τοῦτ' εὐλόγως ἔπασχον διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ παράδοξον τῆς μεταβολῆς· πεντηκονταετοῦς γὰρ δουλείας πεπειραμένοι καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας διὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐπιλελησμένοι δι' ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀπελύθησαν τῆς συμφορᾶς.
3 Διονύσιος δὲ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς αὐτὸς

[1] τὸν κίνδυνον P.

[1] See Plutarch's account in *Dion*, 28-29. Achradina (*ibid.* 29. 1) is an extension of the city, covering the eastern part of the plateau of Epipolae.

Achradina[1] encamped in the market-place, no one daring to come out against him. The whole number of the soldiers with Dion was not less than fifty thousand.[2] All of these with garlands on their heads came down to the city under the leadership of Dion and Megacles and with them thirty[3] Syracusans who alone of the exiles in the Peloponnese were willing to share the battles with their fellow Syracusans. 357/6 B.C.

11. Now that all the city had put on the garb of freedom in exchange for that of slavery and that fortune had changed the sullen looks of the tyranny to festival gaiety, every house was filled with sacrificing and rejoicing, as the citizens burnt incense on their own hearths, thanked the gods for their present blessings, and offered hopeful prayers for blessings to come. The women too raised great shouts of joy for the unexpected good fortune and gathered together in throngs throughout the whole city. There was no freeman, no slave, no stranger who did not hasten to gaze upon Dion, and all applauded the man's valour in terms too exalted for a mere mortal.[4] And they had good reason for such feelings because of the magnitude and unexpected nature of the change; for after having experienced fifty years[5] of slavery and forgotten the meaning of freedom through the lapse of time, they were suddenly released from their misfortune by the valour of a single man.

Dionysius himself at this time chanced to be

[2] See Plutarch, *Dion*, 27. 3, who says five thousand, which is undoubtedly too low an estimate as Diodorus' is too high. See Hackforth, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 278.

[3] Twenty-five is the number given by Plutarch, *Dion*, 22. 4.

[4] ὥσπερ ἱεράν τινα καὶ θεοπρεπῆ πομπήν (Plutarch, *Dion*, 28. 3) and προστρεπομένων ὥσπερ θεὸν κατευχαῖς (*ibid.* 29. 1).

[5] Forty-eight in Plutarch, *Dion*, 28. 3, 405-357 B.C.

μὲν ἔτυχε διατρίβων περὶ Καυλωνίαν τῆς Ἰταλίας, Φίλιστον δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν περὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν ὄντα μετεπέμψατο μετὰ τῆς ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ προσέταξε πλεῖν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσσας. ἀμφοτέρων δ' εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον ἐλθεῖν σπευδόντων ὁ μὲν Διονύσιος ἧκεν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσσας ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἑπτὰ τῆς Δίωνος καθόδου.

4 *εὐθὺς οὖν καταστρατηγῆσαι βουλόμενος τοὺς Συρακοσίους περὶ διαλύσεως ἐπρεσβεύετο καὶ πολλὰς ἐμφάσεις ἐδίδου παραδώσειν τὴν τυραννίδα τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀλλάξεσθαι*[1] *τιμὰς ἀξιολόγους· ἠξίου τε πρέσβεις ἀποστεῖλαι πρὸς αὐτόν, μεθ' ὧν συνεδρεύσας καταλύσηται τὸν πόλεμον.*

5 *οἱ μὲν οὖν Συρακόσιοι μετεωρισθέντες ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐξαπέστειλαν πρέσβεις τοὺς ἀξιολογωτάτους τῶν ἀνδρῶν· ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος τούτοις μὲν φυλακὴν περιστήσας ἀνεβάλετο τὴν ἔντευξιν, αὐτὸς δ' ὁρῶν τοὺς Συρακοσίους διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰρήνης τά τε περὶ τὰς φυλακὰς ῥαθύμως ἔχοντας καὶ τὰ πρὸς μάχην ἀπαρασκεύους ἄφνω τὰς πύλας τῆς κατὰ τὴν Νῆσον ἀκροπόλεως ἀνοίξας ἐξεχύθη συντεταγμένῃ τῇ δυνάμει.*

12. *Τῶν δὲ Συρακοσίων κατεσκευακότων ἀπὸ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν διατείχισμα αὐτῶν*[2] *προσέπεσον οἱ μισθοφόροι τῷ τείχει μετὰ πολλῆς βοῆς καὶ καταπλήξεως καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν φυλάκων ἀνεῖλον, τοῦ δὲ τείχους ἐντὸς γενόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς*

[1] *ἀλλάξεσθαι* edd. : *ἀλλάξασθαι.*

[2] So Post : *διατειχίσας αὐτῶν* P ; *διατείχισμα αὐτῶν* X ; *διατειχίσματα* edd.

sojourning near Caulonia[1] in Italy, and he sent for 357/6 B.C.
Philistus[2] his general, who was cruising the Adriatic, to come with his fleet and ordered him to sail to Syracuse. Both men made haste to reach the same spot, but Dionysius arrived seven days after the return of Dion. Immediately, then, on his arrival, desirous of outmanœuvring the Syracusans, he sent an embassy to make peace, and gave many indications that he would surrender his power as tyrant to the people and would accept of the people's government important privileges in exchange. He requested them to dispatch envoys to him so that he might sit in conference with them and bring the war to an end.[3] The Syracusans, accordingly, elated with hopes, dispatched as envoys the most important of their men ; but Dionysius, having placed them under guard, postponed the conference and, observing that the Syracusans because of their hope of peace were lax in the matter of garrisons and unprepared for a battle, suddenly opened the gates of the citadel on the Island,[4] and issued forth with his army in battle array.

12. Since the Syracusans had constructed a cross-wall of their own from sea to sea, the mercenaries fell upon the wall with a loud and terrifying outcry, massacred many of the garrison and, getting inside

[1] See chap. 10. 2 and note.

[2] This is the historian (see Book 15. 89. 3 and 94. 4) who aided Dionysius the Elder to secure his tyranny (Book 13. 91. 4), was driven into exile by him and presently recalled (Book 15. 7. 3-4).

[3] See Plutarch, *Dion*, 30. 1-3.

[4] The island of Ortygia, which is actually attached to the mainland, stretches south, leaving a narrow passage of twelve hundred yards as the mouth of the Great Harbour between itself and Plemmyrium. Ortygia had been strongly fortified by Dionysius the Elder.

2 ἐκβοηθοῦντας διηγωνίζοντο. ὁ δὲ Δίων ἀνελπίστως παρεσπονδημένος μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων στρατιωτῶν ἀπήντα τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ συνάψας μάχην πολὺν ἐποίει φόνον. ἐν σταδίῳ γὰρ ὥσπερ,[1] τῷ ὀλίγῳ δὴ[2] διαστήματι τῆς διατειχίσεως,[3] μάχης οὔσης συνέδραμε πλῆθος στρατιωτῶν εἰς στενὸν τόπον.
3 διὸ καὶ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις οἱ ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις πρωτεύοντες συγκατέβησαν εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον· καὶ τῶν μὲν τοῦ Διονυσίου μισθοφόρων διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν, τῶν δὲ Συρακοσίων διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ἐλευθερίας εἰς ὑπερβάλλουσαν φιλοτιμίαν ἐκτραπέντων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἰσόρροπος ἦν ἡ μάχη, τῆς παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἀρετῆς οὔσης ἰσομάχου, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἔπιπτον, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ κατετιτρώσκοντο πάσας τὰς πληγὰς ἐναντίας λαμβάνοντες· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρωτοστάται τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων θάνατον ὑπέμενον εὐψύχως, οἱ δ' ἐπιτεταγμένοι τοὺς πίπτοντας ὑπερασπίζοντες καὶ τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐγκαρτεροῦντες τοὺς ἐσχάτους
4 κινδύνους ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης ἀνεδέχοντο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Δίων μὲν ἀριστεῦσαι βουλόμενος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ σπεύδων δι' ἑαυτοῦ περιποιήσασθαι τὴν νίκην εἰς μέσους ἐβιάσατο τοὺς πολεμίους· ἡρωικῶς δ' ἀγωνιζόμενος πολλοὺς μὲν ἐφόνευσε, τὴν δ' ὅλην σύνταξιν τῶν μισθοφόρων διακόψας ἐναπελήφθη[4] μόνος τῷ πλήθει· πολλῶν δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ῥιφέντων βελῶν εἴς τε τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ κράνος ταῦτα μὲν ἐξέφυγε διὰ τὴν τῶν ὅπλων κατασκευήν, εἰς δὲ τὸν δεξιὸν βραχίονα τρωθεὶς συγκατηνέχθη τῷ βάρει τῆς πληγῆς καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις παρ' ὀλίγον ὑποχεί-
5 ριος ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι δείσαντες ὑπὲρ

[1] γὰρ ὥσπερ, τῷ added by Post.
[2] δὴ Post: δὲ.

the wall, engaged in a struggle with those who were 357/6 B.C.
coming out to the rescue. Dion, being unexpectedly tricked by the violation of the truce, came to meet the enemy with his best soldiers and joining battle wrought extensive slaughter. For when fighting took place, as if in a stadium, within the narrow interval afforded by the crosswall, a multitude of soldiers collected in a contracted space. For this reason on both sides men outstanding in gallantry met in the action and since Dionysius' mercenaries, by the size of the promised rewards, and the Syracusans, by the hope of freedom, were wrought up to a high pitch of rivalry, at first the battle stood equally poised, as the valour of both sides in the fight was equal. Many fell, and not a few were wounded, receiving all the blows in front; for on the one hand those in the front rank courageously met death defending the rest, and those arrayed behind them covering them with their shields as they fell and holding firm in the desperate peril took the most dangerous risks to win the victory. After this engagement Dion, wishing to display his valour in the battle and eager to win the victory by his own deeds, forced his way into the midst of the enemy and there in an heroic encounter slew many and having disrupted the whole battle line of the mercenaries was suddenly cut off and isolated in the crowd. Many missiles hurled at him fell upon his shield and helmet, but he escaped these owing to the protection of his armour, but receiving a wound on his right arm he was borne down by the weight of the blow and barely escaped capture by the enemy. The Syracusans, fearing for their general's safety, dashed

[3] So Post: διατειχίου ἔσω. [4] Stephanus: ἐναπελείφθη.

τῆς κατὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν σωτηρίας ἐπέρραξαν τοῖς μισθοφόροις βαρείᾳ τῇ συντάξει καὶ τὸν μὲν Δίωνα καταπονούμενον ἐξήρπασαν ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους βιασάμενοι φυγεῖν ἠνάγκασαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον τόπον τοῦ τείχους προτερούντων τῶν Συρακοσίων οἱ τοῦ τυράννου μισθοφόροι συνεδιώχθησαν ἐντὸς πυλῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Νήσῳ. ἐπιφανεῖ δὲ μάχῃ νικήσαντες οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν βεβαίως κτησάμενοι τρόπαιον ἔστησαν κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου.

13. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διονύσιος μὲν ἐπταικὼς καὶ τὴν δυναστείαν ἀπογινώσκων ἤδη ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἀκροπόλεσιν ἀπέλιπε φρουρὰς ἀξιολόγους, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τετελευτηκότας, ὀκτακοσίους ὄντας, λαβὼν τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτῶν ἔθαψε λαμπρῶς, χρυσοῖς μὲν στεφάνοις ἐστεφανωμένους, πορφυρίσι δὲ καλαῖς περιβεβλημένους· ἤλπιζε γὰρ διὰ τῆς τούτων σπουδῆς προτρέψεσθαι τοὺς ἄλλους εἰς τὸ προθύμως κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ τῆς τυραννίδος· τοὺς δ' ἀνδραγαθήσαντας μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς ἐτίμησε. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Συρακοσίους διεπέμπετο περὶ διαλύσεων.
2 ὁ δὲ Δίων περὶ μὲν τῶν πρεσβειῶν αἰεί τινας εὐλόγους προφάσεις πορίζόμενος ἀνεβάλλετο, ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ τείχους κατασκευάσας μεθ' ἡσυχίας τότε τὰς πρεσβείας μετεπέμπετο, κατεστρατηγηκὼς τοὺς πολεμίους ταῖς τῆς εἰρήνης ἐλπίσιν. γενομένων δὲ λόγων περὶ συλλύσεων ὁ Δίων ἀπεκρίθη τοῖς πρέσβεσιν μίαν εἶναι σύλλυσιν, ἐὰν ἀποθέμενος τὴν τυραννίδα βούληται τυχεῖν τιμῶν τινων. ὁ δὲ Διονύσιος ὑπερηφάνου τῆς

[1] For this battle see Plutarch, *Dion*, 30. 4-8.

into the mercenaries in heavy formation and rescued 357/6 B.C. the distressed Dion from his perils, then overpowering the enemy, forced them to flee. Since likewise in the other part of the wall the Syracusans had the superiority, the tyrant's mercenaries were chased in a body inside the gates of the Island. The Syracusans, who had now won victory in a significant battle and had securely recovered their freedom, set up a trophy to signalize the tyrant's defeat.[1]

13. After this, Dionysius, who had failed and by now despaired of his tyranny, left a considerable garrison in his citadels, while he himself, having secured permission to take up his dead, eight hundred in number, gave their bodies a magnificent burial, causing them to be crowned with golden crowns and wrapped in fine purple; for he hoped by his solicitude for them to incite the survivors to fight spiritedly in defence of the tyranny; and those who had behaved gallantly he honoured with rich gifts. And he kept sending messengers to the Syracusans to confer about terms of a settlement. But Dion in the matter of his embassies, by constantly offering plausible excuses, kept making postponements, and, when he had meanwhile constructed the remainder of the wall at his leisure, he then called for the embassies, having outmanœuvred[2] the enemy by encouraging their hopes of peace. When discussion arose concerning the terms of settlement, Dion replied to the ambassadors that only one settlement was possible, namely that Dionysius should resign his position as tyrant and then deign to accept certain privileges. But Dionysius,

[2] Diodorus alone mentions ruses of Dion. Plutarch (*Dion*, 31-32. 1) and Polyaenus (5. 2. 8) note only those of Dionysius.

ἀποκρίσεως γενομένης συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐβουλεύετο πῶς χρὴ τοὺς Συρακοσίους ἀμύνασθαι.
3 πάντων δ' εὐπορῶν πλὴν σίτου καὶ θαλαττοκρατῶν ἐλῄστευε τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰς τροφὰς ἐκ τῶν προνομῶν κακῶς ποριζόμενος ἐξαπέστειλε ναῦς φορτίδας καὶ χρήματα πρὸς τὸν τοῦ σίτου καταγορασμόν. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι ναῦς μακρὰς πολλὰς ἔχοντες καὶ κατὰ τοὺς εὐκαίρους τόπους ἐπιφαινόμενοι πολλὴν τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων κομιζομένης ἀγορᾶς παρῃροῦντο. .

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰς Συρακούσσας ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

14. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φερῶν τύραννος ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας γυναικὸς Θήβης καὶ τῶν ταύτης ἀδελφῶν Λυκόφρονος καὶ Τισιφόνου ἐδολοφονήθη. οὗτοι δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς τυραννοκτόνοι μεγάλης ἐτύγχανον ἀποδοχῆς, ὕστερον δὲ μετανοήσαντες καὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους χρήμασι πείσαντες ἀνέδειξαν ἑαυτοὺς τυράννους καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀντιπραττομένων ἀνεῖλον, κατασκευασάμενοι δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον βίᾳ κατεῖχον τὴν
2 ἀρχήν. οἱ δ' Ἀλευάδαι καλούμενοι παρὰ τοῖς Θετταλοῖς, δι' εὐγένειαν δὲ ἀξίωμα ἔχοντες περιβόητον ἀντεπράττοντο τοῖς τυράννοις. οὐκ ὄντες δὲ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀξιόμαχοι προσελάβοντο Φίλιππον σύμμαχον τὸν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα. οὗτος δὲ παρελθὼν[1] εἰς τὴν Θετταλίαν κατεπολέμησε τοὺς τυράννους καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀνακτησάμενος τὴν ἐλευθερίαν μεγάλην εὔνοιαν εἰς τοὺς Θετταλοὺς

[1] So Hertlein: δ' ἐπανελθών.

since Dion's reply had been arrogant, assembled his commanders and began to deliberate on the best means of defending himself against the Syracusans. Having plenty of everything but grain and being in control of the sea, he began to pillage the countryside and, finding it difficult to provide subsistence from his foraging parties, he dispatched merchantmen and money to purchase grain. But the Syracusans, who had many ships of war and kept putting in an appearance at opportune places, made off with many of the supplies which were being brought in by the traders. 357/6 B.C.

This was the situation of affairs in Syracuse.

14. In Greece Alexander, tyrant of Pherae, was assassinated by his own wife Thebê and her brothers Lycophron and Tisiphonus.[1] The brothers at first received great acclaim as tyrannicides, but later, having changed their purpose and bribed the mercenaries, they disclosed themselves as tyrants, slew many of their opponents, and, having contrived to make their forces imposing, retained the government by force. Now the faction among the Thessalians called Aleuadae, who enjoyed a far-flung reputation by reason of their noble birth, began to oppose the tyrants. But not being of sufficient strength to fight by themselves they took on Philip, the king of the Macedonians, as ally. And he, entering Thessaly, defeated the tyrants and, when he had vindicated the independence of their cities, showed himself very friendly to the Thessalians.

[1] Diodorus has this event one year too late. It should be 358/7, counting eleven years from Book 15. 61. 2 (see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], 3. 2. 83-84). For the story see Xenophon, *Hell.* 6. 4. 35 ff.; Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 35; Cicero, *De Officiis*, 2. 7. 25; Valerius Maximus, 9. 13, ext. 3. Peitholaüs, the third brother, here omitted, is mentioned chap. 37. 3.

ἐνεδείξατο· διόπερ ἐν ταῖς μετὰ ταῦτα πράξεσιν
ἀεὶ συναγωνιστὰς ἔσχεν οὐ μόνον αὐτός, ἀλλὰ καὶ
μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ υἱὸς Ἀλέξανδρος.
3 Τῶν δὲ συγγραφέων Δημόφιλος μὲν ὁ Ἐφόρου
τοῦ ἱστοριογράφου υἱὸς τὸν παραλειφθέντα πόλεμον
ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, ὀνομασθέντα δὲ ἱερόν, συντεταγ-
μένος ἐντεῦθεν ἦρκται ἀπὸ τῆς καταλήψεως τοῦ
ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς συλήσεως τοῦ μαντείου
ὑπὸ Φιλομήλου τοῦ Φωκέως· ἐγένετο δ' ὁ πόλεμος
οὗτος ἔτη ἕνδεκα ἕως τῆς φθορᾶς τῶν διανειμα-
4 μένων τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα. Καλλισθένης δὲ τὴν
τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων ἱστορίαν γέγραφεν ἐν
βύβλοις δέκα καὶ κατέστροφεν εἰς τὴν κατάληψιν
τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ παρανομίαν Φιλομήλου τοῦ Φωκέως·
5 Δίυλλος δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἦρκται τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπὸ
τῆς ἱεροσυλήσεως καὶ γέγραφε βύβλους εἴκοσι καὶ
ἕξ,[1] συμπεριλαβὼν πάσας τὰς ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τού-
τοις γενομένας πράξεις περί τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ
τὴν Σικελίαν.

15. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Ἐλπίνου Ῥω-

[1] ἕξ "scripturam a Stephano vetustis e libris depromptam" Wesseling (cp. Book 21. 5), PXR; πέντε (omitting καὶ) F; ἑπτά Dindorf, Bekker.

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[1] From chap. 76. 5 we learn that the work of Ephorus was in thirty books and that it closed with the capture of Perinthus. What Demophilus probably wrote was book 30, since books 28 and 29 (fr. 149-150) contained the history of the West and book 27 (fr. 148) contained the early years of Philip's reign. See Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², 3. 2. 25 and Athenaeus, 6. 232 d.

[2] Compare for the beginning and end chaps. 23. 1 (355/4) and 59. 1 (346/5). The Sacred War is accorded ten years

Wherefore in the course of subsequent events not 357/6 B.C.
merely Philip himself but his son Alexander after him had the Thessalians always as confederates.

Among historians Demophilus,[1] the son of the chronicler Ephorus, who treated in his work the history of what is known as the Sacred War, which had been passed over by his father, began his account with the capture of the shrine at Delphi and the pillaging of the oracle by Philomelus the Phocian. This war lasted eleven years [2] until the annihilation of those who had divided amongst themselves the sacred property. And Callisthenes [3] wrote the history of the events in the Hellenic world in ten books and closed with the capture of the shrine and the impious act of Philomelus the Phocian. Diyllus [4] the Athenian began his history with the pillaging of the shrine and wrote twenty-six books, in which he included all the events which occurred in this period both in Greece and in Sicily.

15. When Elpines was archon at Athens the Romans 356/5 B.C.

by Aeschines (2. 131; 3. 148); Pausanias (9. 6. 4); was said to be closed in the tenth year by Duris (fr. 2); Pausanias (10. 3. 1).

[3] Of Olynthus, the nephew and pupil of Aristotle. He wrote the history of the Sacred War probably as a sequel to his *Hellenica* (see Book 14. 117. 8). Cp. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², 3. 2. 25 and 12. He was war reporter to Alexander.

[4] Much uncertainty reigns as to the number and arrangement of the books of his history. The usual reading of the editors here, 27, conflicts with 26 in Book 21. 5. Beloch (*op. cit.* 3. 2. 26) believes 27 in this passage correct and 26 in Book 21. 5 a scribal error. Rühl in *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 137 (1888), 123 ff. thinks Diyllus wrote a history in three parts, συντάξεις of 27 books, nine in each part, beginning with the Sacred War and ending with the death of Cassander.

μαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκον Πόπλιον Λαινάτην καὶ Γναῖον Μαιμίλιον Ἰμπεριῶσον, ὀλυμπιὰς δ' ἤχθη ἕκτη πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Πῶρος Μαλιεύς. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἠθροίσθη περὶ τὴν Λευκανίαν πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων πανταχόθεν μιγάδων, πλείστων δὲ δούλων δραπετῶν. οὗτοι δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λῃστρικὸν ἐνεστήσαντο βίον καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀγραυλίαις καὶ καταδρομαῖς συνήθειαν ἔσχον τριβὴν καὶ μελέτην τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργων· διὸ καὶ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἀγῶσι προτεροῦντες τῶν ἐγχωρίων εἰς
2 αὔξησιν ἀξιολογωτέραν κατέστησαν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν Τέριναν[1] πόλιν ἐκπολιορκήσαντες διήρπασαν, ἔπειτα Ἱππώνιον[2] καὶ Θουρίους καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας χειρωσάμενοι κοινὴν πολιτείαν συνέθεντο καὶ προσηγορεύθησαν Βρέττιοι διὰ τὸ πλείστους εἶναι δούλους· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν τῶν ἐγχωρίων διάλεκτον οἱ δραπέται βρέττιοι προσηγορεύοντο.

Τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν Βρεττίων πλῆθος οὕτω συνέστη κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

16. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν Φίλιστος μὲν ὁ Διονυσίου στρατηγὸς πλεύσας εἰς Ῥήγιον διεκόμισε τοὺς ἱππεῖς εἰς Συρακούσσας, ὄντας πλείους τῶν πεντακοσίων. προσθεὶς δὲ τούτοις ἱππεῖς τε ἄλλους πλείονας καὶ πεζοὺς δισχιλίους ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ

1 So Fischer (cp. Polyaenus, 2. 10. 1): Τέριν PX, Τερίναν RF; Τερῖναν Dindorf.

2 ἔπειτα Ἱππώνιον Cluverius: ἐπὶ ταρπώνιον P, ἔπειτα ταρπώνιον X, Stephanus marg., ἔπειτ' ἀρπώνιον RVF, ἐπεὶ ταρπώνιον M.

1 These names appear in Livy, 7. 12. 1 as Marcus Popilius Laenas and Gnaeus Manlius.

elected as consuls Marcus Poplius Laenas and Gnaeus Maemilius Imperiosus,[1] and the one hundred sixth celebration was held of the Olympian games, at which Porus[2] the Malian won the stadion race. During their term of office, in Italy there gathered in Lucania a multitude of men from every region, a mixture of every sort, but for the most part runaway slaves. These at first led a marauding life and as they habituated themselves to out-of-door life and making raids they gained practice and training in warfare; consequently, since they regularly had the upper hand with the inhabitants in their battles, they reached a state of considerably increased importance. First they took by siege the city Terina[3] and plundered it completely; then, having taken Hipponium, Thurii, and many other cities,[4] they formed a common government and were called Bruttians from the fact that most of them were slaves, for in the local dialect runaway slaves were called "bruttians."[5] 356/5 B.C.

Such, then, was the origin[6] of the people of the Bruttians in Italy.

16. In Sicily Philistus, Dionysius' general, sailed to Rhegium and transported to Syracuse the cavalry, more than five hundred in number. When he had added to these other cavalry more numerous and two thousand infantry, he made an expedition against

2 Cp. chap. 2. 1.

3 A city on the west coast of Bruttian peninsula probably founded by Croton.

4 Sybaris on the Traïs is mentioned in Book 12. 22. 1.

5 Perhaps Oscan. Yet other legends have Brettos (Stephanus of Byzantium, Βρέττος), son of Hercules and Valentia, as eponymous hero, and still others Brettia (Justin, 23. 1. 12), as eponymous heroine. But the term Brettios is older than the date of this passage (see Aristophanes, fr. 629 Kock).

6 See Justin, 23. 1. 3-14; Strabo, 6. 1. 4.

Λεοντίνους ἀφεστηκότας ἀπὸ Διονυσίου, νυκτὸς δὲ παρεισπεσὼν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους κατελάβετο μέρος τῆς πόλεως. γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων βοηθησάντων ἡττηθεὶς ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ
2 τῶν Λεοντίνων. Ἡρακλείδης δ᾽ ὁ καταλελειμμένος ὑπὸ Δίωνος ναύαρχος τῶν μακρῶν νεῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ διά τινας χειμῶνας ἐμποδισθεὶς ὑστέρησε τῆς καθόδου τῶν περὶ τὸν Δίωνα καὶ τῆς τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐλευθερώσεως· ἧκε δ᾽ ἄγων ναῦς μὲν μακρὰς εἴκοσι, χιλίους δὲ στρατιώτας καὶ πεντακοσίους. ὢν δ᾽ ἀνὴρ ἐπισημότατος καὶ δόξας ἄξιος ὑπάρχειν ᾑρέθη ναύαρχος ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ μετὰ Δίωνος τεταγμένος[1] ἐπὶ τῆς ἡγε-
3 μονίας διεπολέμει πρὸς Διονύσιον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Φίλιστος ἀποδειχθεὶς στρατηγὸς καὶ καταρτίσας τριήρεις ἑξήκοντα πρὸς Συρακοσίους ἐναυμάχησεν ἔχοντας ναῦς παραπλησίους τὸν ἀριθμόν. γενομένου δ᾽ ἀγῶνος καρτεροῦ καὶ τοῦ Φιλίστου τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀνδραγαθίας προτεροῦντος, ὕστερον δ᾽ ἀποληφθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι πανταχόθεν κυκλώσαντες τὰς ναῦς ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο ζωγρίᾳ λαβεῖν τὸν στρατηγόν, ὁ δὲ Φίλιστος εὐλαβηθεὶς τὴν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας αἰκίαν ἑαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξε, πλείστας μὲν καὶ μεγίστας χρείας παρεσχημένος τοῖς τυράννοις, πιστότατος δὲ τῶν
4 φίλων τοῖς δυνάσταις γεγονώς. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι νικήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τὸ μὲν σῶμα τοῦ Φιλίστου διαμερίσαντες καὶ δι᾽ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως ἑλκύσαντες ἄταφον ἐξέρριψαν, Διονύσιος δὲ τὸν μὲν πρακτι-

[1] After τεταγμένος Fischer adds ἐπὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας (cp. Book 11. 15. 2, etc.).

Leontini, which had revolted from Dionysius, and 356/5 B.C.
having succeeded in entering the walls by night captured a portion of the city. A sharp engagement ensued, and the Syracusans came to the aid of the Leontinians, so that he was defeated and was driven out of Leontini. Heracleides, who had been left behind by Dion as commander of his men-of-war, having been hindered by storms in the Peloponnese,[1] was too late for Dion's return and the liberation of the Syracusans, but he now came with twenty men-of-war and fifteen hundred soldiers. Being a man of very great distinction and considered worthy of the position, he was chosen admiral by the Syracusans, and, having been assigned to the supreme command of the armed forces along with Dion, he participated in the war against Dionysius. After this Philistus, who had been appointed general and had fitted out sixty triremes, fought a naval battle with the Syracusans, who had about the same number. As the fight became sharp Philistus at first was superior because of his own gallantry, but later on, when he was intercepted by the enemy, the Syracusans, encircling the ships from all sides, put forth strenuous efforts to capture the general alive, but Philistus, with apprehensions of torture after his capture, slew himself after having performed a great many very important services to the tyrants and having proved himself the most faithful of their friends to the men in power. The Syracusans, after they had won the naval battle, dismembered the body of Philistus, dragged it through the whole city, and cast it forth unburied; and Diony-

[1] See chap. 6. 5.

κώτατον τῶν φίλων ἀποβαλὼν καὶ στρατηγὸν μὲν ἕτερον ἀξιόχρεων οὐκ ἔχων, αὐτὸς δ' οὐ δυνάμενος φέρειν τὸ τοῦ πολέμου βάρος ἐξέπεμψε πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς τὸν Δίωνα, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς ἀρχῆς παραδιδούς, ὕστερον δὲ βουλόμενος ὅλην ἐγχειρίζειν.

17. Τοῦ δὲ Δίωνος ἀποκριθέντος ὅτι τοῖς Συρακοσίοις δίκαιόν ἐστι παραδιδόναι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπί τισιν ἐξαιρέτοις χρήμασι καὶ τιμαῖς, ὁ μὲν Διονύσιος ἕτοιμος ἦν παραδιδόναι τὴν ἄκραν τῷ δήμῳ ὥστε τοὺς μισθοφόρους καὶ τὰ χρήματα λαβόντα εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν μεταστῆναι, ὁ δὲ Δίων συνεβούλευε τοῖς Συρακοσίοις δέχεσθαι τὰ διδόμενα. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὑπὸ τῶν[1] ἀκαίρων δημηγόρων πεισθεὶς ἀντεῖπε, νομίζων κατὰ κράτος ἐκπολιορκή-
2 σειν τὸν τύραννον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ μὲν Διονύσιος τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν μισθοφόρων ἀπέλιπεν φυλάξοντας τὴν ἄκραν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐνθέμενος τὰ χρήματα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλικὴν κατασκευὴν ἔλαθεν ἐκπλεύσας
3 καὶ κατῆρεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστασίασαν, τῶν μὲν οἰομένων δεῖν τὴν στρατηγίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἐξουσίαν ἐγχειρίζειν Ἡρακλείδῃ διὰ τὸ τοῦτον δοκεῖν μηδέποτ' ἂν ἐπιθέσθαι τυραννίδι, τῶν δὲ ἀποφαινομένων τὸν Δίωνα δεῖν ἔχειν τὴν τῶν ἁπάντων ἡγεμονίαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πολλῶν ὀφειλομένων μισθῶν τοῖς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ξένοις τοῖς ἠλευθερωκόσι τὰς Συρακούσσας καὶ χρημάτων σπανιζούσης τῆς πόλεως, οἱ μὲν μισθοφόροι τῶν χρημάτων ἀποστερούμενοι συνεστράφησαν, ὄντες πλείους τῶν τρισχιλίων πάντες δ' ἐπίλεκτοι ταῖς ἀρεταῖς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἄθλησιν τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων διαπεπονημένοι πολὺ

sius, who had lost the most efficient of his friends 356/5 B.C.
and had no other general of repute, being himself unable to sustain the burden of the war, sent out ambassadors to Dion, first offering him the half of his power, but later consenting to place the whole of it in his hands.

17. But when Dion replied that it was only fair to surrender to the Syracusans the acropolis with the reservation of certain property and privileges, Dionysius was ready to surrender the citadel to the people on the condition that he took his mercenaries and his property and went abroad to Italy, and Dion counselled the Syracusans to accept his offer. But the people, persuaded by their inopportune demagogues, refused, believing that they could forcibly make the tyrant surrender by siege. Thereafter Dionysius left the best of his mercenaries to guard the citadel, while he himself, putting his possessions and all his royal paraphernalia on board ship, sailed off secretly and put ashore in Italy. But the Syracusans were divided into two factions, some being of the opinion that they should entrust the generalship and supreme power in the state to Heracleides because it was believed that he would never aim at tyrannical power, and the others declaring that Dion should have the supremacy over the entire government. Furthermore, large sums for wages were due to the Peloponnesian mercenaries who had liberated Syracuse and the city was short of funds, so the mercenaries, deprived of their money, banded together in excess of three thousand, and since all had been selected for meritorious conduct and because of their training in actual warfare were hardened veterans, they were far

[1] Fischer would prefer *ὑπό τινων*.

4 τοὺς Συρακοσίους[1] ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ὑπερεβάλλοντο. ὁ δὲ Δίων ἀξιούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν μισθοφόρων συναποστῆναι καὶ παρὰ τῶν Συρακοσίων ὡς κοινῶν ἐχθρῶν λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντεῖπεν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συναναγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς περιστάσεως προσεδέξατο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν ξένων καὶ μετ' ἐκείνων ταχθεὶς ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Λεον-
5 τίνους. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι συστραφέντες ἐδίωκον τοὺς μισθοφόρους καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν συνάψαντες μάχην καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντες ἀπεχώρησαν. ὁ δὲ Δίων λαμπρᾷ μάχῃ νικήσας οὐδὲν ἐμνησικάκησε τοῖς Συρακοσίοις· ἀποστειλάντων γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν κήρυκα περὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναιρέσεως τήν τε τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναίρεσιν ἔδωκε καὶ τοὺς ἁλόντας πολλοὺς ὄντας ἀπέλυσεν ἄνευ λύτρων. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ φυγῇ μέλλοντες φονεύεσθαι διηγόρευον ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι τῶν τὰ Δίωνος φρονούντων καὶ πάντες διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἐξέφυγον τὸν θάνατον.

18. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διονύσιος μὲν στρατηγὸν ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσσας Νύψιον τὸν Νεαπολίτην, ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ συνέσει στρατηγικῇ διαφέροντα· συνεξέπεμψε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ φορτηγὰ πλοῖα σίτου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀγορᾶς γέμοντα. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἐκ Λοκρῶν ἀναχθεὶς ἐτέλει τὸν εἰς Συρακούσσας
2 πλοῦν. οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μισθοφόροι τοῦ τυράννου, κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιλιπόντος τοῦ σίτου, καὶ τῇ σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων δεινῶς πιεζόμενοι, μέχρι μέν τινος ὑπέμενον εὐψύχως τὴν ἔνδειαν, τῆς δὲ φύσεως ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἡττω-

[1] So Wesseling (cp. Book 1. 66. 3): τῶν Συρακοσίων. Fischer suggests τῶν Συρακοσίων τὰς ἀρετὰς (cp. Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 82).

more than a match for the Syracusans in valour. As 356/5 B.C.
for Dion, when he was asked by the mercenaries to join their revolt and to take vengeance upon the Syracusans as a common enemy, he at first refused, but later, under compulsion of the critical circumstances, he accepted the command of the mercenaries, and with them marched off to Leontini. The Syracusans in a body set out to pursue the mercenaries, and, having engaged them on the way and lost many men,[1] retreated. Dion, who had defeated them in a brilliant battle, harboured no grudge toward the Syracusans, for when they sent him a herald to arrange for the removal of the dead he granted them permission and set free without ransom the captives, who were numerous. For many who were on the point of being slain in their flight declared that they were on Dion's side and all for this reason escaped death.[2]

18. After this Dionysius dispatched to Syracuse as general Nypsius[3] the Neapolitan, a man who excelled in valour and in sagacity of generalship; and with him he sent merchantmen laden with grain and other supplies. Nypsius then set sail from Locri and completed the voyage to Syracuse. The tyrant's mercenaries, stationed on the acropolis, as their supply of grain failed at this time, were in dire distress for want of supplies, but for a time endured in good spirits their lack of food; then, when human nature succumbed to

[1] Cp. Plutarch, *Dion*, 39. 3: "with the loss of a few men."

[2] Compare the narrative of chaps. 16-17 with Plutarch, *Dion*, 32-39.

[3] That Nypsius was from Campanian Neapolis is proved by his Oscan name (properly written Νύμψιος as on the inscription from Lacco on Ischia, *IG*, 14. 894). See Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], 3. 1. 260, note 1.

μένης καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπογινωσκομένης συνδρα-
μόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν νυκτὸς ἐψηφίσαντο παραδοῦναι
τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς Συρακοσίοις
3 *ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ. ἤδη δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ληγούσης οἱ μὲν*
μισθοφόροι κήρυκας ἐξέπεμπον πρὸς τοὺς Συρα-
κοσίους περὶ τῆς διαλύσεως, ὁ δὲ Νύψιος διαφαι-
νούσης ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας κατέπλευσε μετὰ τοῦ στόλου
καὶ καθωρμίσθη περὶ τὴν Ἀρέθουσαν. διόπερ τῆς
ἐνδείας παραχρῆμα μεταβαλούσης εἰς πολλὴν δα-
ψίλειαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὁ μὲν στρατηγὸς Νύψιος
ἐκβιβάσας τοὺς στρατιώτας, κοινὴν ἐκκλησίαν
συναγαγὼν καὶ διαλεχθεὶς οἰκείως τοῖς παροῦσι και-
ροῖς, προθύμους κατεσκεύασε πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας
κινδύνους. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀκρόπολις ἤδη παραδιδομένη
τοῖς Συρακοσίοις τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον ἀνελπίστως
4 *διεφυλάχθη, οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι πληρώσαντες ἁπά-*
σας τὰς τριήρεις ἐπέπλευσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἔτι περὶ
τὴν ἐξαίρεσιν τῆς ἀγορᾶς διατρίβουσιν. ἀπροσ-
δοκήτου δὲ τῆς ἐφόδου γενομένης καὶ τῶν κατὰ
τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μισθοφόρων τεθορυβημένως ἀντι-
ταχθέντων ταῖς πολεμίαις[1] *τριήρεσιν, ἐγένετο ναυ-*
μαχία καθ' ἣν οἱ Συρακόσιοι προετέρησαν, καὶ
τινὰς μὲν τῶν νεῶν κατέδυσαν, τινῶν δ' ἐγκρατεῖς
κατέστησαν, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς πρὸς τὴν γῆν κατεδίω-
5 *ξαν. μετεωρισθέντες δ' ἐπὶ τῷ προτερήματι τοῖς*
μὲν θεοῖς μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἔθυσαν ἐπινίκια, αὐτοὶ
δ' εἰς εὐωχίας καὶ πότους ἐκτραπέντες, καταφρο-
νοῦντες τῶν ἡττημένων ῥᾳθύμως εἶχον τὰ περὶ τὰς
φυλακάς.

19. *Νύψιος δ' ὁ τῶν μισθοφόρων στρατηγὸς ἀνα-*
λαβεῖν καὶ ἀναμαχέσασθαι βουλόμενος τὴν ἧτταν
νυκτὸς ἐκτεταγμένῃ τῇ δυνάμει παραδόξως προσ-

necessity and they despaired of saving their lives, they came together in an assembly at night and voted to surrender the citadel and themselves to the Syracusans at dawn. Night was just drawing to a close as the mercenaries sent heralds to the Syracusans to make terms, but, as dawn was just breaking, Nypsius sailed in with his fleet and anchored off Arethusa.[1] Consequently, now that the scarcity had suddenly changed into a great abundance of supplies, the general Nypsius, after disembarking his soldiers, held a joint assembly, presented arguments suitable to the occasion and won the support of the men to meet the perils in store. Now the acropolis which was already on the point of being given over to the Syracusans was unexpectedly preserved in the aforesaid manner, but the Syracusans, manning all their triremes, sailed against the enemy while they were still occupied in unloading the supplies. Since the attack was unexpected and the mercenaries in the citadel could only be drawn up in confused fashion against the enemy triremes, a naval battle took place in which the Syracusans had the superiority, in fact they sank some of the ships, gained possession of others, and pursued the remnant to the shore. Elated by their success they offered magnificent sacrifice to the gods in honour of the victory, and, turning to banqueting and drink, with contempt for the men they had defeated, were negligent about their guards.

356/5 B.C.

19. Nypsius, the commander of the mercenaries, wishing to renew the battle and retrieve the defeat, with his army which had been marshalled during the

[1] A fountain on the island of Ortygia on the slope toward the Great Harbour.

[1] So Dindorf: *πολεμικαῖς*.

ἔπεσε τῷ[1] κατεσκευασμένῳ τείχει. εὑρὼν δὲ τοὺς φύλακας διὰ τὴν καταφρόνησιν καὶ μέθην εἰς ὕπνον τετραμμένους προσέθηκε τὰς παρεσκευασμένας κλί-
2 μακας πρὸς τὴν χρείαν. διὰ δὲ τούτων οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν μισθοφόρων ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τοὺς φύλακας φονεύσαντες ἀνέῳξαν τὰς πύλας. εἰσπεσόντων δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐκ τῆς μέθης ἀνανήφοντες[2] ἐπειρῶντο βοηθεῖν, ἐμποδιζόμενοι δὲ τὰς ὁρμὰς[3] διὰ τὸν οἶνον οἱ μὲν ἀνῃρέθησαν, οἱ δ' ἔφυγον. κατειλημμένης δὲ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως στρατιωτῶν σχεδὸν ἁπάντων εἰσπεσόντων ἐντὸς τοῦ περιτειχίσματος, τῶν δὲ Συρακοσίων διὰ τὸ παράδοξον καὶ τὴν ἀταξίαν ἐκπεπληγμένων
3 πολὺς ἐγίνετο φόνος. τῶν δὲ τοῦ τυράννου στρατιωτῶν πλειόνων ἢ μυρίων ὄντων καὶ συντεταγμένων καλῶς οὐδεὶς τὸ βάρος αὐτῶν ὑπομεῖναι δυνατὸς ἦν, ἅτε τοῦ θορύβου καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς, ἔτι δὲ ἀναρχίας τοὺς ἐλαττουμένους ἐμποδιζούσης.
4 κρατηθείσης δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας οἱ νενικηκότες ὥρμησαν· καὶ πολλὰ μὲν χρήματα διεφορεῖτο, οὐκ ὀλίγα δὲ σώματα γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων, ἔτι δ' οἰκετῶν ἐξηνδραποδίζετο. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς στενωποὺς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ἀντιταττομένων Συρακοσίων ἐγίνοντο συνεχεῖς συμπλοκαὶ καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ τραύμασι περιέπιπτον. τὴν μὲν οὖν νύκτα διετέλεσαν ἀλλήλους ἀναιροῦντες ὡς ἔτυχε διὰ τὸ σκότος καὶ πᾶς τόπος νεκρῶν ἔγεμεν.

[1] Fischer would supply *προσφάτως* after *τῷ* (cp. chap. 13. 2).
[2] So Madvig (cp. chap. 93. 8): *μεθύοντες*.
[3] So Fischer (cp. Book 5. 3. 2): *ταῖς ὁρμαῖς*.

night unexpectedly attacked the wall which had been 356/5 B.C.
constructed. And, finding that the guards through contempt and drunkenness had betaken themselves to sleep, he placed against it the ladders that had been constructed in case they were needed. The bravest of the mercenaries climbed on the wall with these, slaughtered the guards, and opened the gates. As the men poured into the city, the generals of the Syracusans, becoming sober after their drunkenness, tried to bring aid, but, their efforts being hampered by the wine, some were slain and some fled. When the city had been captured and almost all the soldiers from the citadel had rushed inside the circuit-walls, since the Syracusans were panic-stricken by the suddenness and confusion of the attack, a great slaughter took place. The soldiers of the tyrant numbered more than ten thousand and their lines were so well marshalled that no one was able to withstand their sheer weight, inasmuch as the din and disorder and, furthermore, the lack of a commander, impeded the Syracusans in their hour of defeat. Once the market-place had come into possession of the enemy, the victors straightway attacked the residences. They carried off much property and took off as slaves many women and children and household servants besides. Where the Syracusans formed to meet them in narrow alleys and other streets, continuous engagements occurred and many were killed and not a few wounded. So they passed the night slaying one another at random in the darkness, and every quarter teemed with dead.

20. Ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τὸ μὲν τῆς συμφορᾶς μέγεθος συνεωράθη, οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι, μίαν ἔχοντες σωτηρίαν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δίωνος βοήθειαν, ἐξαπέστειλαν ἱππεῖς εἰς Λεοντίνους, δεόμενοι τοῦ Δίωνος μὴ περιδεῖν τὴν πατρίδα δοριάλωτον γινομένην καὶ τῶν μὲν ἡμαρτημένων δοῦναι συγγνώμην αὐτοῖς, τὰς δὲ παρούσας δυστυχίας ἐλεήσαντα διορθώ-
2 σασθαι τὴν τῆς πατρίδος συμφοράν. ὁ δὲ Δίων λαμπρὸς ὢν τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας παιδείαν ἐξημερωμένος τοὺς λογισμοὺς οὐκ ἐμνησικάκησε τοῖς πολίταις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μισθοφόρους πείσας παραχρῆμα ἀνέζευξε καὶ διανύσας ὀξέως τὴν εἰς Συρακούσσας ὁδὸν ἧκε πρὸς τὰ Ἑξάπυλα.
3 ἐνταῦθα δὲ διατάξας τοὺς στρατιώτας προσῆγε κατὰ τάχος καὶ κατέλαβεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τέκνα μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς γεγηρακότας ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους· οὗτοι δὲ πάντες ἀπαντῶντες μετὰ δακρύων ἱκέτευον ἀμῦναι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀκληρήμασιν. οἱ δ' ἐκ[1] τῆς ἀκροπόλεως μισθοφόροι κεκρατηκότες ἤδη τῆς προθέσεως τὰς μὲν περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν οἰκίας διαρπάσαντες ἐνέπρησαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς λοιπὰς ὁρμή-
4 σαντες διήρπαζον τὰς ἐν ταύταις κτήσεις. καθ' ὃν δὴ καιρὸν Δίων κατὰ πλείους τόπους εἰσπεσὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις περὶ τὰς ἁρπαγὰς ἀσχολουμένοις ἐπιθέμενος πάντας τοὺς περιτυγχάνοντας ἔκτεινε κομίζοντας ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων παντοδαπὰς κατασκευάς· διὰ δὲ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς παρουσίας καὶ τὴν ἀταξίαν καὶ τὴν ταραχὴν τῶν διαφορούντων τὰς κτήσεις εὐχερῶς ἅπαντες ἐχειροῦντο. τέλος δὲ πλειόνων ἢ τετρακισχιλίων φονευθέντων, τῶν μὲν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, τῶν δ' ἐν ταῖς

[1] ἐκ added by Dindorf.

20. At daybreak the magnitude of the disaster was seen in its entirety, and the Syracusans, whose one hope of survival lay in help from Dion, sent horsemen to Leontini begging Dion not to suffer his native city to be captured by the spear point of the enemy, to forgive them the mistakes they had made, and in pity for their present misfortunes to come and retrieve his country's disaster. Dion, a man noble in spirit and civilized in his judgements because of his philosophical training, did not bear a grudge against his fellow citizens, but, after winning the mercenaries over, straightway set out and, having quickly traversed the road to Syracuse, arrived at the Hexapyla.[1] After drawing up his soldiers at that point he advanced with all speed and encountered, fleeing from the city, children, women, and old men in excess of ten thousand. All of these as they met him besought him with tears to avenge their own misfortunes. The mercenaries from the citadel, having already obtained their objective, after plundering the houses by the market-place set them on fire and now, attacking the remaining residences, were in the act of plundering the possessions in these. At this very moment Dion, rushing into the city in several places and attacking the enemy as they were busily engaged in their looting, slew all whom he met as they were lugging furnishings of various sorts off on their shoulders. And because of the unexpectedness of his appearance and the disorder and confusion, all of those who were making off with their plunder were easily overpowered. And finally, after more than four thousand had been slain, some in the houses, and others in the streets, the rest fled in a 356/5 B.C.

[1] Entrance on the north to Tycha, a populous quarter of the city.

ὁδοῖς, οἱ λοιποὶ συνέφυγον εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὰς πύλας κλείσαντες ἐξέφυγον τὸν κίνδυνον.

5 Δίων δὲ κάλλιστον τῶν προγεγενημένων ἔργων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διαπραξάμενος τὰς μὲν καιομένας οἰκίας διέσωσε κατασβέσας τὴν φλόγα, τὸ δὲ περιτείχισμα καλῶς κατασκευασάμενος μιᾷ πράξει τήν τε πόλιν ὠχύρωσε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀποτειχίσας εἶρξε τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐξόδου. καθαρὰν δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν ποιήσας τὴν πόλιν καὶ τρόπαιον στήσας
6 ἔθυσε τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας. συναχθείσης δ' ἐκκλησίας ὁ μὲν δῆμος εὐχαριστῶν αὐτῷ στρατηγὸν ἐχειροτόνησεν αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Δίωνα καὶ τιμὰς ἀπένειμεν ἡρωικάς, ὁ δὲ Δίων ἀκολούθως τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐπιεικῶς τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς ἅπαντας ἀπέλυσε τῶν ἐγκλημάτων καὶ τὸ πλῆθος παραμυθησάμενος εἰς κοινὴν ἤγαγεν ὁμόνοιαν. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι πανδήμοις ἐπαίνοις καὶ ἀποδοχαῖς μεγάλαις ἐτίμων τὸν εὐεργέτην ὡς μόνον σωτῆρα γεγονότα τῆς πατρίδος.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

21. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Χίων καὶ Ῥοδίων καὶ Κῴων, ἔτι δὲ Βυζαντίων διαπολεμούντων πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τὸν συμμαχικὸν πόλεμον ἀμφότεροι μεγάλας παρασκευὰς ἐποιοῦντο, βουλόμενοι ναυμαχίᾳ κρῖναι τὸν πόλεμον. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Χάρητα μὲν μετὰ νεῶν ἑξήκοντα προαπεσταλκότες ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω καιροῖς, τότε δὲ ἄλλας ἑξήκοντα πληρώσαντες καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐπιστήσαντες τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν πολιτῶν, Ἰφικράτην καὶ Τιμόθεον, ἐξαπέστειλαν

[1] The enemy, in the citadel on the Island, were prevented by the walls from crossing to the main part of the city on Achradina.

body to the citadel and closing the gates escaped the danger. 356/5 B.C.

Dion, having accomplished the finest of all the deeds ever performed by him, preserved the burning houses by extinguishing the flames, and, by restoring to good condition the circuit-wall, at one stroke fortified the city and by walling off the foe blocked their egress to the mainland.[1] When he had cleansed the city of the dead and had erected a trophy of victory, he offered sacrifices to the gods for the deliverance of the city. An assembly was summoned, and the people, as an expression of their gratitude to him, elected Dion general with absolute power and accorded him honours suited to a hero, and Dion in harmony with his former conduct generously absolved all his personal enemies of the charges outstanding against them and having reassured the populace brought them to a state of general harmony. The Syracusans with universal praises and with elaborate testimonials of approval honoured their benefactor as the one and only saviour of their native land.[2]

Such was the condition of affairs in Sicily.

21. In Greece proper, where the Chians, Rhodians, Coans, and also the Byzantians were continuing the Social War against the Athenians, both sides were making great preparations, for they wished to decide the war by a naval battle. The Athenians had previously[3] sent Chares forth with sixty ships, but now, manning sixty more and placing as generals in command the most distinguished of their citizens, Iphicrates and Timotheüs, they dispatched this expedition

[2] Compare the narrative of chaps. 18-20 with Plutarch, *Dion*, 41-48.

[3] See chap. 7. 3-4.

κοινῇ μετὰ Χάρητος διαπολεμεῖν τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσι
2 τῶν συμμάχων. οἱ δὲ Χῖοι καὶ Ῥόδιοι καὶ Βυ-
ζάντιοι μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἑκατὸν ναῦς πληρώ-
σαντες Ἴμβρον μὲν καὶ Λῆμνον οὔσας[1] Ἀθηναίων
ἐπόρθησαν, ἐπὶ δὲ Σάμον πολλῇ δυνάμει στρατεύ-
σαντες τὴν μὲν χώραν ἐδῄωσαν τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐπο-
λιόρκουν κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν· πολλὰς δὲ
καὶ ἄλλας νήσους οὔσας ὑπ' Ἀθηναίους κακοποιή-
σαντες χρήματα ἤθροισαν εἰς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου
3 χρείας. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ πάντες
ἀθροισθέντες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεβάλοντο πολιορκῆ-
σαι τὴν τῶν Βυζαντίων πόλιν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν
Χίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τὴν μὲν πολιορκίαν τῆς
Σάμου λυσάντων ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν βοήθειαν τοῖς Βυζαν-
τίοις τρεπομένων συνηθροίσθησαν πάντες οἱ στόλοι
περὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. μελλούσης δὲ γίνεσθαι τῆς
ναυμαχίας μέγας ἄνεμος ἐπιπεσὼν διεκώλυσεν αὐ-
4 τῶν τὴν προαίρεσιν. τοῦ δὲ Χάρητος παρὰ φύσιν
βουλομένου ναυμαχεῖν καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἰφικράτην
καὶ Τιμόθεον ἐναντιουμένων διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ
κλύδωνος ὁ μὲν Χάρης ἐπιμαρτυρόμενος τοὺς στρα-
τιώτας[2] διέβαλε τοὺς συνάρχοντας ὡς προδότας
καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἔγραψε περὶ αὐτῶν ὡς ἐγκατα-
λελοιπότων ἑκουσίως τὴν ναυμαχίαν, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι
παροξυνθέντες καὶ κρίσιν τῷ Ἰφικράτει καὶ Τιμο-
θέῳ προθέντες ἐζημίωσαν αὐτοὺς πολλοῖς ταλάν-
τοις καὶ τῆς στρατηγίας ἀπέστησαν.

[1] So Dindorf: *οὖσαν*.

[2] So Wesseling (cp. Book 2. 18. 1): *τοῖς στρατιώταις*.

along with Chares to continue war upon their allies who had revolted. The Chians, Rhodians, and Byzantians together with their allies manned one hundred ships and then sacked Imbros and Lemnos, Athenian islands, and having descended on Samos with a large contingent laid waste the countryside and besieged the city by land and by sea; and by ravaging many other islands that were subject to Athens they collected money for the needs of the war. All the Athenian generals now met and planned at first to besiege the city of the Byzantians, and when later the Chians and their allies abandoned the siege of Samos and turned to assist the Byzantians, all the fleets became massed in the Hellespont. But just at the time when the naval battle was about to take place a great wind fell upon them and thwarted their plans. When Chares, however, though the elements were against him, wished to fight, but Iphicrates and Timotheüs opposed on account of the heavy sea, Chares, calling upon his soldiers to bear him witness, accused his colleagues of treason and wrote to the assembly about them, charging that they had purposely shirked the sea-fight.[1] And the Athenians were so incensed that they indicted Iphicrates and Timotheüs, fined them many talents, and removed them from the generalship.[2] 356/5 B.C.

[1] See Nepos, *Timotheüs*, 3. Menestheüs, son of Iphicrates and son-in-law of Timotheüs, was also associated with the command and later brought to trial. A battle was actually begun, the battle of Embata, not in the Hellespont, but near Erythrae. See Nepos, *l.c.*: "hinc male re gesta, compluribus amissis navibus"; Polyaenus, 3. 9. 29; Stephanus of Byzantium, *s.v.* Ἔμβατον.

[2] See Nepos, *Timotheüs*, 3. 5; *Iphicrates*, 3. 3; Isocrates, *Antidosis*, 129; Polyaenus, 3. 9. 29; Deinarchus, *Against Demosthenes*, 14 and Schaefer, *Demosthenes*, 1². 175 ff. For an interesting appraisal of these generals see chap. 85. 7.

22. Χάρης δὲ παραλαβὼν παντὸς τοῦ στόλου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ σπεύδων τῆς δαπάνης ἀπαλλάξαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπεχείρησε πράξει παραβόλῳ. Ἀρταβάζου[1] γὰρ ἀποστάντος ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ μέλλοντος ὀλίγοις στρατιώταις πρὸς τοὺς σατράπας διαγωνίζεσθαι μυριάδας ἑπτὰ στρατιωτῶν ἔχοντας, συμμαχήσαντος αὐτῷ Χάρητος πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει καὶ νικήσαντος τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως δύναμιν, ὁ μὲν Ἀρτάβαζος[1] ἀποδιδοὺς τῆς εὐεργεσίας χάριτας ἐδωρήσατο πλῆθος χρημάτων, ἐξ ὧν δυνατὸν ἦν
2 πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν ὀψωνιάζεσθαι, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπεδέξαντο τὴν πρᾶξιν τοῦ Χάρητος, ὕστερον δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως πρέσβεις ἀποστείλαντος καὶ κατηγοροῦντος τοῦ Χάρητος τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔσχον γνώμην· διεδόθη γὰρ λόγος ὅτι τοῖς πολεμίοις τῶν Ἀθηναίων βασιλεὺς ἐπηγγείλατο τριακοσίαις ναυσὶ συγκαταπολεμήσειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ταῦτ' οὖν ὁ δῆμος εὐλαβηθεὶς ἔκρινε καταλύσασθαι τὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας πόλεμον· εὑρὼν δὲ κἀκείνους ἐπιθυμοῦντας τῆς εἰρήνης ῥᾳδίως πρὸς αὐτοὺς διελύσατο.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν συμμαχικὸς ὀνομασθεὶς πόλεμος τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τὸ τέλος, διαμείνας ἔτη τέτταρα.[2]

3 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μακεδονίαν τρεῖς βασιλεῖς συνέστησαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον, ὅ τε τῶν Θρᾳκῶν καὶ Παιόνων καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν. οὗτοι γὰρ ὄντες ὅμοροι τοῖς Μακεδόσι καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν ὑφορώμενοι τοῦ

[1] So Wesseling (cp. chap. 34. 1; also Demosthenes, 4. 24, 23. 154; Polyaenus, 7. 33. 2 and Cospus): *Φαρναβάζου* (similarly below).

[2] *τέτταρα*] *τρία* Wesseling (cp. Cospus and chap. 7. 3).

22. Chares, now that he had succeeded to the command of the whole fleet and was eager to relieve the Athenians of its expense, undertook a hazardous operation. Now Artabazus had revolted from the Persian King and with only a few soldiers was on the point of joining combat with the satraps who had more than seventy thousand. Chares with all his forces took part with Artabazus in a battle and defeated the King's army. And Artabazus, out of gratitude for his kindness, made him a present of a large sum of money, with which he was able to furnish his entire army with supplies.[1] The Athenians at first approved Chares' action, but later, when the King sent ambassadors and denounced Chares, they changed their minds; for word had been spread abroad that the King had promised Athens' enemies that he would join them in their war against the Athenians with three hundred ships. The assembly, accordingly, taking a cautious attitude, decided to bring to a close the war against their revolted allies; and finding that they too desired peace they easily came to terms with them.[2] 356/5 B.C.

So the Social War, as it was called, came to such a close after lasting four years.

In Macedon three kings combined against Philip,—the kings of the Thracians, Paeonians, and Illyrians. For these peoples, inasmuch as they bordered upon Macedonia, eyed with suspicion the aggrandizement

[1] See chap. 34. 1; Isocrates, *Areopagiticus*, 8, 10, 81; Plutarch, *Aratus*, 16; Papyrus frag. in *Festschrift für O. Hirschfeld*, 100; Schol. Demosthenes, 4. 19.

[2] See Demosthenes, 15. 26; Isocrates, *Peace*, 16 *et passim*. Diodorus fails to state that Chios, Cos, and Rhodes were allowed to withdraw from the League and the independence of Byzantium was recognized. See Pickard-Cambridge, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 210-212.

Φιλίππου καθ᾽ ἑαυτοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἦσαν ἀξιόμαχοι
προηττημένοι, κοινῇ δὲ πολεμοῦντες ὑπέλαβον
ῥᾳδίως αὐτοῦ περιέσεσθαι. διόπερ ἀθροιζόντων
τὰς δυνάμεις ἐπιφανεὶς ἀσυντάκτοις καὶ κατα-
πληξάμενος ἠνάγκασε προσθέσθαι τοῖς Μακεδόσιν.

23. Ἐπ᾽ ἄρχοντος δ᾽ Ἀθήνησι Καλλιστράτου Ῥω-
μαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκον[1] Φάβιον καὶ
Γάιον Πλώτιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ὁ κληθεὶς ἱερὸς
πόλεμος συνέστη καὶ διέμεινεν ἔτη ἐννέα. Φιλό-
μηλος γὰρ ὁ Φωκεύς, ἀνὴρ θράσει καὶ παρανομίᾳ
διαφέρων, κατελάβετο μὲν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν
ἐξέκαυσε δὲ τὸν ἱερὸν πόλεμον διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς
2 αἰτίας. Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς διαπολεμη-
σάντων τὸν Λευκτρικὸν πόλεμον καὶ καταπολε-
μηθέντων οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι διὰ τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς
Καδμείας δίκας μεγάλας ἐπαγαγόντες τοῖς Λακε-
δαιμονίοις ἐν Ἀμφικτύοσι κατεδίκασαν αὐτοὺς πολ-
3 λοῖς χρήμασιν, οἱ δὲ Φωκεῖς ἐπεργασάμενοι πολλὴν
τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας τῆς ὀνομαζομένης Κιρραίας δίκας
ὑπέσχον ἐν Ἀμφικτύοσι καὶ πολλοῖς ταλάντοις κατ-
εκρίθησαν. οὐκ ἐκτινόντων δ᾽ αὐτῶν τὰ ὀφλήματα
οἱ μὲν ἱερομνήμονες ἐν Ἀμφικτύοσι κατηγόρουν
τῶν Φωκέων καὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἠξίουν ἐὰν μὴ τὰ

[1] Gaius in Livy, 7. 12. 6 and *Fasti Consulares*.

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[1] See Justin, 12. 16. 6; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 3. 5 and discussion in Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], 3. 1. 231 and notes.

[2] Should probably read "ten" years as in chap. 59. 1. See chap. 14. 3 and notes. For an account of the beginnings of the Sacred War see Pickard-Cambridge, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 213 ff.

[3] Originally the Council of the Amphictyonic League, an association which had the care of the temple and oracle of Delphi. Thebans and Thessalians with the aid of small neigbouring tribes controlled the vote in the Council.

of Philip; singly, however, they were not capable of sustaining a combat, each having suffered defeat in the past, but they supposed that, if they should join their forces in a war, they would easily have the better of Philip. So it was that, while they were still gathering their armies, Philip appeared before their dispositions were made, struck terror into them, and compelled them to join forces with the Macedonians.[1] 356/5 B.C.

23. When Callistratus was archon at Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Marcus Fabius and Gaius Plautius. During their term of office the Sacred War, as it was called, began and lasted nine years.[2] For Philomelus the Phocian, a man of unusual audacity and lawlessness, seized the shrine in Delphi and kindled the Sacred War for reasons somewhat as follows. When the Lacedaemonians had fought the Leuctrian War with the Boeotians and been defeated, the Thebans brought a serious charge against the Lacedaemonians in the Amphictyonic Council[3] because of their seizure of the Cadmeia and obtained a judgement against them for a large indemnity; and the Phocians for having cultivated a large portion of the consecrated territory named Cirrhaean[4] were arraigned in the Council and were fined a large number of talents. When they did not discharge the assessments, the hieromnemones[5] of the Amphictyons brought charges against the Phocians and demanded 355/4 B.C.

[4] The plain near Cirrha on the Corinthian Gulf consecrated to Apollo of Delphi and so not supposed to be cultivated (cp. Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon*, 107-112). Other causes for fining the Phocians are given in Pausanias, 10. 2. 1 and Justin, 8. 1, but this fine is mentioned in Pausanias, 10. 15. 1. See chap. 29. 2-3.

[5] Recorders or officers in charge of sacred business at meetings of the Amphictyonic Council, two from each nation.

χρήματα τῷ θεῷ ἀποδῶσιν οἱ Φωκεῖς καθιερῶσαι
τὴν χώραν τῶν ἀποστερούντων τὸν θεόν· ὁμοίως
δ' ἔφασαν δεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς καταδικα-
σθέντας ἐκτίνειν τὰ ὀφλήματα, ἐν οἷς ὑπῆρχον καὶ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ὑπακούωσι, κοινῇ ὑπὸ
4 τῶν Ἑλλήνων μισοπονηρίας ἀξιοῦσθαι. τῶν δ'
Ἑλλήνων συνεπικυρούντων τὰ δόγματα τῶν Ἀμφι-
κτυόνων καὶ τῆς τῶν Φωκέων χώρας μελλούσης
καθιεροῦσθαι ὁ Φιλόμηλος, μέγιστον ἔχων ἐν τοῖς
Φωκεῦσιν ἀξίωμα, διελέχθη τοῖς ὁμοεθνέσι, διδά-
σκων ὡς ἐκτῖσαι μὲν οὐ δύνανται τὰ χρήματα διὰ
τὸ μέγεθος τῆς καταδίκης, περιορᾶν δὲ καθιερου-
μένην τὴν χώραν οὐ μόνον ἄνανδρον ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ κίνδυνον ἐπιφέρειν τῇ τῶν ἁπάντων τοῦ βίου
5 ἀνατροπῇ.[1] ἐπειρᾶτο δὲ καὶ τὰς κρίσεις τῶν Ἀμφι-
κτυόνων ἀδίκους δεικνύναι κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· μικρᾶς
γὰρ παντελῶς χώρας κατεργασθείσης μεγίστας
ζημίας τεθεῖσθαι. συνεβούλευεν οὖν ταύτας ἀκύ-
ρους ποιῆσαι καὶ μεγάλας ἀφορμὰς ἔχειν ἀπεφαί-
νετο τοὺς Φωκεῖς κατὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων· τὸ γὰρ
παλαιὸν τοῦ μαντείου τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ προστασίαν
ἐσχηκέναι τούτους. καὶ μάρτυρα τὸν ἀρχαιότατον
καὶ μέγιστον τῶν ποιητῶν Ὅμηρον παρείχετο
λέγοντα

αὐτὰρ Φωκείων Σχεδίος καὶ Ἐπίστροφος ἦρχον,
οἳ Κυπάρισσον ἔχον Πυθῶνά τε πετρήεσσαν.

6 διόπερ ἔφη δεῖν ἀμφισβητεῖν περὶ τῆς τοῦ μαντείου

[1] τῇ . . . ἀνατροπῇ PX ; καὶ τῷ τῶν ἁπάντων βίῳ ἀνατροπήν cet. Fischer suggests τῆς τῶν ἁπάντων κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀνατροπῆς.

[1] Town near Delphi.

of the Council that if the Phocians did not pay the money to the god, they should lay under a curse the land of those who were cheating the god. Likewise they declared that the others against whom judgements had been passed should discharge their fines, the Lacedaemonians being in this category, and if they did not obey, they should incur the common hatred of the Greeks for their knavery. When the Greeks all ratified the decisions of the Amphictyons and the territory of the Phocians was about to be placed under the curse, Philomelus, who had the highest reputation among the Phocians, harangued his fellow countrymen, explaining that they were unable to pay the money on account of the magnitude of the fine, and that to allow the territory to be cursed was not only cowardly but involved them in danger since it was the destruction of the means by which they all lived. He endeavoured also to prove that the judgements of the Amphictyons were unjust in the highest degree, since they had inflicted huge fines for the cultivation of what was a very small parcel of land. Accordingly he advised them to treat the fines as null and void and declared that the Phocians had strong grounds for their case against the Amphictyons: for in ancient times they had held control and guardianship of the oracle. As witness he offered the most ancient and greatest of all poets, Homer, who said: 355/4 B.C.

"Now over Phocians Schedius ruled and e'en Epistrophus,
They dwelt in Cyparissus[1] and in Pytho[2] land of rocks."[3]

On this account he said they should enter a claim for

[2] Homeric name for Delphi.

[3] *Iliad*, 2. 517, 519.

προστασίας ὡς οὔσης πατρίου τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν. ἐπηγγέλλετο δὲ κατορθώσειν τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ἐὰν αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορα καταστήσωσι στρατηγὸν τῆς ὅλης ἐπιβολῆς καὶ κύριον.[1]

24. Τῶν δὲ Φωκέων διὰ τὸν ἐκ τῆς καταδίκης φόβον ἑλομένων αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορα στρατηγὸν ὁ Φιλόμηλος ἐνεργῶς ἐπετέλει τὰς ἐπαγγελίας. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην ἐν ἀπορρήτοις διελέχθη τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀρχιδάμῳ, ὅτι κοινὸς ὁ ἀγών ἐστιν αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὰς κρίσεις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἀκύρους· εἶναι γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων μεγάλας καὶ ἀδίκους ἀποφάσεις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων. ἐδήλωσεν οὖν αὐτῷ διότι τοὺς Δελφοὺς καταλαβέσθαι διέγνωκε καὶ τῆς προστασίας ἐὰν ἐγκρατὴς γένηται
2 τὰ δόγματα τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἀκυρώσει.[2] ὁ δ' Ἀρχίδαμος ἀποδεξάμενος τὸν λόγον φανερῶς μὲν κατὰ τὸ παρὸν οὐκ ἔφησε βοηθήσειν, λάθρᾳ δὲ πάντα συμπράξειν χορηγῶν καὶ χρήματα καὶ μισθοφόρους. ὁ δὲ Φιλόμηλος παρὰ μὲν τούτου πεντεκαίδεκα τάλαντα λαβών, ἰδίᾳ δὲ προσθεὶς οὐκ ἐλάττω τούτων μισθοφόρους τε ξένους[3] ἐμισθώσατο καὶ τῶν Φωκέων ἐπέλεξε χιλίους, οὓς ὠνόμασε
3 πελταστάς. ἀθροίσας δὲ στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος καὶ καταλαβόμενος τὸ μαντεῖον τούς τε Θρακίδας καλουμένους τῶν Δελφῶν ἐναντιουμένους ἀνεῖλε καὶ τὰς οὐσίας αὐτῶν ἐδήμευσε· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὁρῶν

[1] Fischer suggests placing καὶ κύριον after στρατηγόν.
[2] Wesseling suggests ἀκυρῶσαι.
[3] Hertlein would delete either μισθοφόρους or ξένους.

[1] See Polyaenus, 5. 45.

the guardianship of the oracle on the ground that this belonged to the Phocians as an inheritance from their fathers. He promised that he would succeed with the enterprise if they would appoint him general with absolute power for the entire programme and give him complete authority.[1] 355/4 B.C.

24. When the Phocians out of fear of the judgement elected him general with absolute power, Philomelus set about energetically to fulfil his promise. First he went to Sparta, where he conversed in private with Archidamus king of the Lacedaemonians, representing that the king had an equal interest in the effort to render null and void the judgements of the Amphictyons, for there existed serious and unjust pronouncements of that Council to the injury of the Lacedaemonians also. He accordingly disclosed to Archidamus that he had decided to seize Delphi and that if he succeeded in obtaining the guardianship of the shrine he would annul the decrees of the Amphictyons. Although Archidamus approved of the proposal, he said he would not for the present give assistance openly, but that he would co-operate secretly in every respect, providing both money and mercenaries. Philomelus, having received from him fifteen talents and having added at least as much on his own account, hired foreign mercenaries and chose a thousand of the Phocians, whom he called peltasts. Then, after he had gathered a multitude of soldiers and had seized the oracle, he slew the group of Delphians called Thracidae[2] who sought to oppose him and confiscated their possessions; but, observing that

[2] Unknown. Wesseling thinks they may be the Φοίβου Δελφοὶ θέραπες, noble attendants of the shrine, cp. Euripides, *Ion*, 94.

καταπεπληγμένους παρεκάλει θαρρεῖν ὡς οὐδενὸς
4 ἐσομένου περὶ αὐτοὺς δεινοῦ. διαβοηθείσης δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καταλήψεως Λοκροὶ μὲν οἱ πλησίον οἰκοῦντες παραχρῆμα ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τὸν Φιλόμηλον. γενομένης δὲ περὶ Δελφοὺς μάχης οἱ μὲν Λοκροὶ λειφθέντες καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντες τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, ὁ δὲ Φιλόμηλος ἐπαρθεὶς τῇ νίκῃ τὰς τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἀποφάσεις ἔκ τε τῶν στηλῶν ἐξέκοψε[1] καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν κατα-
5 δικῶν γράμματα κατέλυσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ διέδωκε λόγον ὡς οὔτε συλᾶν τὸ μαντεῖον διέγνωκεν οὔτ' ἄλλην οὐδεμίαν παράνομον πρᾶξιν συντελεῖν βεβούλευται, τῆς δὲ προγονικῆς προστασίας ἀμφισβητῶν καὶ τὰς τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἀδίκους ἀποφάσεις ἀκυρῶσαι βουλόμενος βοηθεῖν[2] τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις τῶν Φωκέων.

25. Οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ συνελθόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν τῷ μαντείῳ καὶ παραχρῆμα στρατιώτας ἐξέπεμψαν. τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ὁ Φιλόμηλος τεῖχός τε περιεβάλετο τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ μισθοφόρους ἤθροιζε πολλούς, ἀναβιβάσας τοὺς μισθοὺς καὶ ποιήσας ἡμιολίους, καὶ τῶν Φωκέων ἐπιλέγων τοὺς ἀρίστους κατέγραφε καὶ ταχὺ δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον ἤθροισεν· οὐκ ἐλάττους γὰρ τῶν πεντακισχιλίων στρατιωτῶν ἔχων προεκάθητο τῶν Δελφῶν, φοβερὸς ὢν ἤδη τοῖς πολεμεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν
2 βουλομένοις. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα στρατεύσας εἰς τὴν τῶν Λοκρῶν χώραν καὶ πολλὴν τῆς πολεμίας γῆς

[1] Wesseling conjectures ἐξεκόλαψε (cp. Cobet, p. 246, Demosthenes, 57. 64 and 59. 98).

the others were terror-stricken, he exhorted them to be of good cheer since no danger would befall them. When news of the seizure of the shrine was noised abroad, the Locrians, who lived near by,[1] straightway took the field against Philomelus. A battle took place near Delphi and the Locrians, having been defeated with the loss of many of their men, fled to their own territory, and Philomelus, being elated by his victory, hacked from the slabs the pronouncements of the Amphictyons, deleted the letters recording their judgements, and personally caused the report to be circulated that he had resolved not to plunder the oracle nor had he purposed to commit any other lawless deed, but that in support of the ancestral claim to the guardianship and because of his desire to annul the unjust decrees of the Amphictyons, he was vindicating the ancestral laws of the Phocians. 355/4 B.C.

25. The Boeotians, coming together in an assembly, voted to rally to the support of the oracle and immediately dispatched troops. While these things were going on, Philomelus threw a wall around the shrine and began to assemble a large number of mercenaries by raising the pay to half as much again, and selecting the bravest of the Phocians he enrolled them and quickly had a considerable army; for with no less than five thousand troops he took up a position in defence of Delphi, already a formidable adversary for those who wished to make war upon him. Later on, having led an expedition into the territory of the Locrians and laid waste much of the enemy's land, he

[1] Near Amphissa. The account of the battle is repeated chap. 28. 3.

[2] βοηθεῖν Fischer: βοηθεῖ.

δηώσας κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο πλησίον ποταμοῦ
τινος ῥέοντος παρὰ φρούριον ὀχυρόν. τούτῳ δὲ
προσβολὰς ποιησάμενος καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος ἑλεῖν
τῆς μὲν πολιορκίας ἀπέστη, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Λοκροὺς
συνάψας μάχην ἀπέβαλε τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἴκοσι
καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν οὐ δυνηθεὶς κρατῆσαι τὴν ἀναίρεσιν
αὐτῶν διὰ κήρυκος ᾐτήσατο. οἱ δὲ Λοκροὶ τὴν
ἀναίρεσιν οὐ συγχωροῦντες ἀπόκρισιν ἔδωκαν ὅτι
παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι κοινὸς νόμος ἐστὶν ἀτάφους
3 ῥίπτεσθαι τοὺς ἱεροσύλους. ὁ δὲ Φιλόμηλος χα-
λεπῶς φέρων τὸ συμβεβηκὸς συνῆψε μάχην τοῖς
Λοκροῖς καὶ πᾶσαν εἰσενεγκάμενος φιλοτιμίαν
ἀνεῖλέ τινας τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν σωμάτων κυ-
ριεύσας ἠνάγκασε τοὺς Λοκροὺς ἀλλαγὴν ποιή-
σασθαι τῶν νεκρῶν. κρατῶν δὲ τῶν ὑπαίθρων
καὶ πολλὴν πορθήσας τῆς Λοκρίδος ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς
Δελφοὺς ἐμπεπληκὼς ὠφελείας τοὺς στρατιώτας.
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ πολέμου βουλόμενος χρή-
σασθαι τῷ μαντείῳ τὴν Πυθίαν ἠνάγκασεν ἀνα-
βᾶσαν ἐπὶ τὸν τρίποδα δοῦναι τὸν χρησμόν.

26. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίποδος ἐμνήσθην, οὐκ ἄκαιρον
προσαναλαβεῖν ἡγοῦμαι τὴν παλαιὰν περὶ αὐτοῦ
παραδεδομένην ἱστορίαν. λέγεται γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν
αἶγας εὑρεῖν τὸ μαντεῖον· οὗ χάριν αἰξὶ μάλιστα
2 χρηστηριάζονται μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οἱ Δελφοί. τὸν δὲ
τρόπον τῆς εὑρέσεως γενέσθαι φασὶ τοιοῦτον. ὄντος
χάσματος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ καθ' ὅν ἐστι νῦν τοῦ
ἱεροῦ τὸ καλούμενον ἄδυτον, καὶ περὶ τοῦτο νενο-
μένων[1] αἰγῶν, διὰ τὸ μήπω κατοικεῖσθαι τοὺς
Δελφούς, αἰεὶ τὴν προσιοῦσαν τῷ χάσματι[2] καὶ
προσβλέψασαν αὐτῷ σκιρτᾶν θαυμαστῶς καὶ προ-

[1] So Rhodoman: γενομένων.

encamped near a river that flowed past a stronghold. 355/4 B.C.
Though he made assaults upon this, he was unable to take it and finally desisted from the siege, but joining battle with the Locrians he lost twenty of his men, and not being able to get possession of their bodies, he asked through a herald the privilege of taking them up. The Locrians, refusing to grant this, gave answer that amongst all the Greeks it was the general law that temple-robbers should be cast forth without burial. Philomelus so resented this that he joined battle with the Locrians and, bending every effort, slew some of the enemy, and having got possession of their bodies compelled the Locrians to make an exchange of the dead. As he was master of the open country, he sacked a large portion of Locris and returned to Delphi, having given his soldiers their fill of the spoils of war. After this, since he wished to consult the oracle for the war, he compelled the Pythian priestess to mount her tripod and deliver the oracle.

26. Since I have mentioned the tripod, I think it not inopportune to recount the ancient story which has been handed down about it. It is said that in ancient times goats discovered the oracular shrine, on which account even to this day the Delphians use goats preferably when they consult the oracle. They say that the manner of its discovery was the following. There is a chasm at this place where now is situated what is known as the "forbidden" sanctuary, and as goats had been wont to feed about this because Delphi had not as yet been settled, invariably any goat that approached the chasm and peered into it would leap about in an extraordinary fashion and utter a sound

[2] τῷ χάσματι τὴν προσιοῦσαν RF.

ἵεσθαι φωνὴν διάφορον ἢ πρότερον εἰώθει φθέγ-
3 γεσθαι. τὸν δ' ἐπιστατοῦντα ταῖς αἰξὶ θαυμάσαι
τὸ παράδοξον καὶ προσελθόντα τῷ χάσματι καὶ
κατιδόντα οἷόνπερ ἦν ταὐτὸ παθεῖν ταῖς αἰξίν·
ἐκείνας τε γὰρ ὅμοια ποιεῖν τοῖς ἐνθουσιάζουσι καὶ
τοῦτον προλέγειν τὰ μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ
ταῦτα τῆς φήμης παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις διαδοθείσης
περὶ τοῦ πάθους τῶν προσιόντων τῷ χάσματι
πλείους ἀπαντᾶν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, διὰ δὲ τὸ παρά-
δοξον πάντων ἀποπειρωμένων τοὺς αἰεὶ πλησιά-
ζοντας ἐνθουσιάζειν. δι' ἃς αἰτίας θαυμαστωθῆναί[1]
τε τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ νομισθῆναι τῆς Γῆς εἶναι τὸ
4 χρηστήριον. καὶ χρόνον μέν τινα τοὺς βουλομένους
μαντεύεσθαι προσιόντας τῷ χάσματι ποιεῖθαι τὰς
μαντείας ἀλλήλοις· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολλῶν καθαλ-
λομένων εἰς τὸ χάσμα διὰ τὸν ἐνθουσιασμὸν καὶ
πάντων ἀφανιζομένων δόξαι τοῖς κατοικοῦσι περὶ
τὸν τόπον, ἵνα μηδεὶς κινδυνεύῃ, προφῆτίν τε μίαν
πᾶσι καταστῆσαι γυναῖκα καὶ διὰ ταύτης γίνεσθαι
τὴν χρησμολογίαν. ταύτῃ δὲ κατασκευασθῆναι
μηχανὴν ἐφ' ἣν ἀναβαίνουσαν ἀσφαλῶς ἐνθουσιά-
5 ζειν καὶ μαντεύεσθαι τοῖς βουλομένοις. εἶναι δὲ
τὴν μηχανὴν τρεῖς ἔχουσαν βάσεις, ἀφ' ὧν αὐτὴν
τρίποδα κληθῆναι· σχεδὸν δὲ πάντας τούτου τοῦ[2]
κατασκευάσματος ἀπομιμήματα γίνεσθαι τοὺς ἔτι
καὶ νῦν κατασκευαζομένους χαλκοῦς τρίποδας. ὃν
μὲν οὖν τρόπον εὑρέθη τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ δι' ἃς αἰτίας
ὁ τρίπους κατεσκευάσθη ἱκανῶς εἰρῆσθαι νομίζω.

[1] *θαυμαστωθῆναι* X : *θαυμασθῆναι cet.*

quite different from what it was formerly wont to emit. The herdsman in charge of the goats marvelled at the strange phenomenon and having approached the chasm and peeped down it to discover what it was, had the same experience as the goats,[1] for the goats began to act like beings possessed and the goatherd also began to foretell future events. After this as the report was bruited among the people of the vicinity concerning the experience of those who approached the chasm, an increasing number of persons visited the place and, as they all tested it because of its miraculous character, whosoever approached the spot became inspired. For these reasons the oracle came to be regarded as a marvel and to be considered the prophecy-giving shrine of Earth. For some time all who wished to obtain a prophecy approached the chasm and made their prophetic replies to one another; but later, since many were leaping down into the chasm under the influence of their frenzy and all disappeared, it seemed best to the dwellers in that region, in order to eliminate the risk, to station one woman there as a single prophetess for all and to have the oracles told through her. And for her a contrivance was devised which she could safely mount, then become inspired and give prophecies to those who so desired. And this contrivance has three supports and hence was called a tripod, and, I dare say, all the bronze tripods which are constructed even to this day are made in imitation of this contrivance.[2] In what manner, then, the oracle was discovered and for what reasons the tripod was devised I think I have told 355/4 B.C.

[1] See Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum*, 42 ; Justin, 24. 6.
[2] Schol. on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 9.

[2] *πάντας τούτου τοῦ* Capps : *παντὸς τοῦ.*

6 θεσπιῳδεῖν δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον λέγεται παρθένους διά τε τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀδιάφθορον καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ὁμογενές· ταύτας γὰρ εὐθετεῖν πρὸς τὸ τηρεῖν τὰ ἀπόρρητα τῶν χρησμῳδουμένων. ἐν δὲ τοῖς νεωτέροις χρόνοις φασὶν Ἐχεκράτη τὸν Θετταλὸν παραγενόμενον εἰς τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ θεασάμενον τὴν χρησμολογοῦσαν παρθένον ἐρασθῆναι διὰ τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς καὶ συναρπάσαντα βιάσασθαι· τοὺς δὲ Δελφοὺς διὰ τὸ γεγενημένον πάθος εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν νομοθετῆσαι μηκέτι παρθένον χρηστηριάζειν, ἀλλὰ γυναῖκα πρεσβυτέραν πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν χρησμολογεῖν· κοσμεῖσθαι δ' αὐτὴν παρθενικῇ σκευῇ, καθάπερ ὑπομνήματι τῆς παλαιᾶς προφήτιδος.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς εὑρέσεως τοῦ μαντείου μυθολογούμενα τοιαῦτ' ἐστίν· ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπανήξομεν[1] ἐπὶ τὰς Φιλομήλου πράξεις.

27. Οὗτος γὰρ κρατῶν τοῦ μαντείου προσέταττε τῇ Πυθίᾳ τὴν μαντείαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίποδος ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. ἀποκριναμένης δ' αὐτῆς ὅτι τοιαῦτα οὐκ[2] ἔστι τὰ πάτρια διηπειλήσατο καὶ συνηνάγκασε τὴν ἀνάβασιν ποιεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν τρίποδα. ἀποφθεγξαμένης δ' αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ βιαζομένου ὅτι ἔξεστιν αὐτῷ πράττειν ὃ βούλεται, ἀσμένως τὸ ῥηθὲν ἐδέξατο καὶ τὸν προσήκοντα χρησμὸν ἔχειν ἀπεφαίνετο. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τὸν χρησμὸν ἔγγραφον ποιήσας καὶ προθεὶς εἰς τοὐμφανὲς ἅπασιν ἐποίησε φανερὸν ὅτι ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ
2 δίδωσιν ἐξουσίαν πράττειν ὅ τι βούλεται. συναγαγὼν δ' ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὴν μαντείαν τοῖς πλήθεσι δηλώσας καὶ παρακαλέσας θαρρεῖν ἐτρέπετο πρὸς

[1] So Rhodoman: ἐπανάξομεν.

[2] τοιαῦτα F, οὐκ added by Rhodoman: ταυτά P, ταὐτα X.

at sufficient length. It is said that in ancient times 355/4 B.C.
virgins delivered the oracles because virgins have their natural innocence intact and are in the same case as Artemis; for indeed virgins were alleged to be well suited to guard the secrecy of disclosures made by oracles. In more recent times, however, people say that Echecrates the Thessalian, having arrived at the shrine and beheld the virgin who uttered the oracle, became enamoured of her because of her beauty, carried her away with him and violated her; and that the Delphians because of this deplorable occurrence passed a law that in future a virgin should no longer prophesy but that an elderly woman of fifty should declare the oracles and that she should be dressed in the costume of a virgin, as a sort of reminder of the prophetess of olden times.

Such are the details of the legend regarding the discovery of the oracle; and now we shall turn to the activities of Philomelus.

27. When Philomelus had control of the oracle he directed the Pythia to make her prophecies from the tripod in the ancestral fashion. But when she replied that such was not the ancestral fashion, he threatened her harshly and compelled her to mount the tripod. Then when she frankly declared, referring to the superior power of the man who was resorting to violence: "It is in your power to do as you please," he gladly accepted her utterance and declared that he had the oracle which suited him. He immediately had the oracle inscribed and set it up in full view, and made it clear to everyone that the god gave him the authority to do as he pleased. Having got together an assembly and disclosed the prophecy to the multitude and urged them to be of good cheer, he turned to

τὰς τοῦ πολέμου πράξεις. ἐγένετο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ
σημεῖον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος· ἀετὸς γὰρ
ὑπερπετώμενος τὸν ναὸν[1] τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ συγκυλισθεὶς
ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὰς τρεφομένας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ περιστερὰς
ἐθήρευεν, ὧν ἐνίας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἥρπαζε τῶν βωμῶν.
τὸ δὲ σημεῖον ἔφασαν οἱ περὶ ταῦτ' ἀσχολούμενοι
σημαίνειν τῷ Φιλομήλῳ καὶ τοῖς Φωκεῦσι κρατή-
3 σειν τῶν περὶ Δελφοὺς πραγμάτων. ἐπαρθεὶς οὖν
ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπέλεξε τῶν φίλων τοὺς εὐθετωτάτους
εἰς τὰς πρεσβείας καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὰς
Ἀθήνας, τοὺς δ' εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, τοὺς δ' εἰς τὰς
Θήβας ἐξέπεμψεν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας
τὰς ἐπισημοτάτας τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πόλεων
ἀπέστειλεν, ἀπολογούμενος ὅτι κατείληπται τοὺς
Δελφοὺς οὐ τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασιν ἐπιβουλεύων, ἀλλὰ
τῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ προστασίας ἀμφισβητῶν· εἶναι γὰρ
Φωκέων αὐτὴν ἰδίαν ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς χρόνοις ἀπο-
4 δεδειγμένην. τῶν δὲ χρημάτων τὸν λόγον ἔφη
πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀποδώσειν καὶ τόν τε σταθμὸν
καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἕτοιμος εἶναι
παραδοῦναι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐξετάζειν. ἠξίου δέ,
ἄν τις δι' ἔχθραν ἢ φθόνον πολεμῇ Φωκεῦσι,
μάλιστα μὲν συμμαχεῖν, εἰ δὲ μή γε, τὴν ἡσυχίαν
5 ἄγειν. τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων τὸ προσταχθὲν πραξάντων
Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καί τινες ἄλλοι
συμμαχίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν συνέθεντο καὶ βοηθήσειν
ἐπηγγείλαντο, Βοιωτοὶ δὲ καὶ Λοκροὶ καί τινες
ἕτεροι τἀναντία τούτοις ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ τὸν πόλεμον
ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Φωκεῖς ἐπανείλαντο.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.

[1] So X: *νεὸν* P, *νεὼν cet.*

355/4 B.C.

the business of the war. There came to him an omen as well, in the temple of Apollo, namely an eagle which, after flying over the temple of the god and swooping down to earth, preyed upon the pigeons which were maintained in the temple precincts, some of which it snatched away from the very altars. Those versed in such matters declared that the omen indicated to Philomelus and the Phocians that they would control the affairs of Delphi. Elated accordingly by these events, he selected the best qualified of his friends for the embassies, and sent some to Athens, some to Lacedaemon, and some to Thebes; and he likewise sent envoys to the other most distinguished cities of the Greek world, explaining that he had seized Delphi, not with any designs upon its sacred properties but to assert a claim to the guardianship of the sanctuary; for this guardianship had been ordained in early times as belonging to the Phocians. He said he would render due account of the property to all the Greeks and expressed himself as ready to report the weight and the number of the dedications to all who wished an examination. But he requested that, if any through enmity or envy were to engage in war against the Phocians, these cities should preferably join forces with him, or, if not, at least maintain peaceful relations.[1] When the envoys had accomplished their appointed mission, the Athenians, Lacedaemonians, and some others arranged an alliance with him and promised assistance, but the Boeotians, Locrians, and some others passed decrees to the contrary intent and renewed the war in behalf of the god upon the Phocians.

Such were the events of this year.

[1] See chap. 33. 2.

28. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Διοτίμου Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Γάιον Μάρκιον καὶ Γναῖον Μάλλιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Φιλόμηλος μὲν προορώμενος τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πολέμου μισθοφόρων τε πλῆθος ἤθροιζε, τῶν τε Φωκέων τοὺς εὐθέτους
2 κατέλεγεν εἰς τὴν στρατείαν. τοῦ δὲ πολέμου προσδεομένου χρημάτων τῶν μὲν ἱερῶν ἀναθημάτων ἀπείχετο, τοὺς δὲ Δελφοὺς εὐδαιμονίᾳ καὶ πλούτῳ διαφέροντας ἐπράξατο πλῆθος χρημάτων ἱκανὸν εἰς τοὺς τῶν ξένων μισθούς. κατασκευάσας οὖν ἀξιόλογον δύναμιν προήγαγεν εἰς ὕπαιθρον καὶ φανερὸς ἦν ἑτοίμως ἔχων διαγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς
3 ἀλλοτρίως διακειμένους τοῖς Φωκεῦσι. τῶν δὲ Λοκρῶν στρατευσάντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐγένετο μάχη περὶ τὰς Φαιδριάδας καλουμένας πέτρας, ἣν νικήσας ὁ Φιλόμηλος πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνεῖλε τῶν πολεμίων οὐκ ὀλίγους δ' ἐζώγρησε, τινὰς δὲ κατὰ τῆς πέτρας συνηνάγκασεν ἑαυτοὺς κατακρημνίσαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ταύτην οἱ μὲν Φωκεῖς ἐπήρθησαν τοῖς φρονήμασι διὰ τὴν εὐημερίαν, οἱ δὲ Λοκροὶ ταπεινωθέντες πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἀξιοῦντες τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τῷ
4 θεῷ. οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ διά τε τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ συμφέρειν αὐτοῖς τὰς τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων κρίσεις βεβαίας εἶναι πρός τε τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ἐπρέσβευσαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀμφικτύονας ἀξιοῦντες κοινῇ πολεμῆσαι τοῖς Φωκεῦσι. ψηφισαμένων δὲ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων τὸν πρὸς Φωκεῖς πόλεμον πολλὴ ταραχὴ καὶ διάστασις ἦν καθ' ὅλην τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔκριναν

28. When Diotimus was archon at Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Gaius Marcius and Gnaeus Manlius. During their term of office Philomelus, foreseeing the magnitude of the war, began to gather a multitude of mercenaries and to select for active duty those of the Phocians who were fit. Although the war required additional funds, he kept his hands off the sacred dedications, but he did exact from the Delphians, who were exceptionally prosperous and wealthy, a sufficient sum of money to pay the mercenaries. Having accordingly prepared a large army, he led it into the open country and was obviously holding himself ready to join issue with any who were hostile to the Phocians. And when the Locrians took the field against him a battle was fought near the cliffs called Phaedriades,[1] in which Philomelus won the victory, having slain many of the enemy and taken not a few alive, while some he forced to hurl themselves over the precipices. After this battle the Phocians were elated by their success, but the Locrians, being quite dejected, sent ambassadors to Thebes asking the Boeotians to come to their support and the god's. The Boeotians because of their reverence for the gods and because of the advantage they gained if the decisions of the Amphictyons were enforced, sent embassies to the Thessalians and the other Amphictyons demanding that they make war in common against the Phocians. But when the Amphictyons voted the war against the Phocians much confusion and disagreement reigned throughout the length and breadth of Greece. For some decided to stand by the god and 354/3 B.C.

[1] A semicircular range of rocks on Mt. Parnassus facing south, hence "Resplendent." Aesop is said to have been precipitated from the eastern rock Hyampeia (see Suidas, *s.v.* Αἴσωπος).

βοηθεῖν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς Φωκεῖς ὡς ἱεροσύλους κολάζειν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν τῶν Φωκέων βοήθειαν ἀπέκλινον.

29. Σχιζομένης δὲ τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων αἱρέσεως τῷ μὲν ἱερῷ βοηθεῖν ἔγνωσαν Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Λοκροὶ καὶ Θετταλοὶ καὶ Περραιβοί, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Δωριεῖς καὶ Δόλοπες, ἔτι δὲ Ἀθαμᾶνες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ[1] Φθιῶται καὶ Μάγνητες, ἔτι δὲ Αἰνιᾶνες καί τινες ἕτεροι, τοῖς δὲ Φωκεῦσι συνεμάχουν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καί τινες ἕτεροι τῶν
2 Πελοποννησίων. προθυμότατα δὲ συνέπραττον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι[2] διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. ἐν τῷ Λευκτρικῷ πολέμῳ Θηβαῖοι καταπολεμήσαντες τοὺς πολεμίους δίκην ἐπήνεγκαν εἰς Ἀμφικτύονας κατὰ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὅτι Φοιβίδας ὁ Σπαρτιάτης κατελάβετο τὴν Καδμείαν, καὶ διετιμήσαντο τὸ ἀδίκημα ταλάντων πεντακοσίων. καταδικασθέντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τὴν δίκην οὐκ ἐκτινόντων κατὰ τὸν ὡρισμένον ἐκ τῶν νόμων καιρὸν οἱ Θηβαῖοι πάλιν δίκην ἐπήνεγκαν διπλοῦ τοῦ ἀδική-
3 ματος. τῶν δ' Ἀμφικτυόνων χιλίοις ταλάντοις καταδικασάντων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ὀφλήματος ὁμοίας τοῖς Φωκεῦσι τὰς ἀποφάσεις ἐποιοῦντο, λέγοντες ἀδίκως ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων
4 καταδεδικάσθαι. διόπερ κοινοῦ ὄντος τοῦ συμφέροντος οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατ' ἰδίαν μὲν ὤκνουν ὑπὲρ τῆς καταδίκης ἄρασθαι πόλεμον, διὰ δὲ τοῦ

[1] So Wesseling: Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Φθιῶται.
[2] So Wesseling: οἱ Λακ. καί τινες ἕτεροι.

[1] Chapters 27-28 cover much the same ground as 23-24.

punish the Phocians as temple-robbers, while others inclined toward giving the Phocians assistance.[1] 354/3 B.C.

29. As tribes and cities were divided in their choice, the Boeotians, Locrians, Thessalians, and Perrhaebians decided to aid the shrine, and in addition the Dorians and Dolopians, likewise the Athamanians, Achaeans of Phthiotis, and the Magnesians, also the Aenianians and some others; while the Athenians,[2] Lacedaemonians, and some others of the Peloponnesians fought on the side of the Phocians. The Lacedaemonians co-operated most eagerly for the following reasons. In the Leuctrian War[3] the Thebans, after defeating the enemy, brought suit before the Amphictyons against the Spartans, the charge being that Phoebidas the Spartan had seized the Cadmeia,[4] and the Amphictyons assessed a fine of five hundred talents for the offence. Then when the Lacedaemonians had had judgement entered against them and failed to pay the fine during the period set by the laws, the Thebans again brought suit, this time for double damages. When the Amphictyons set the judgement at a thousand talents, the Lacedaemonians, on account of the large amount of the fine, made declarations similar to those of the Phocians, saying that an unjust judgement had been rendered against them by the Amphictyons. Wherefore, though their interests were now common, the Lacedaemonians hesitated to begin war by themselves on account of the adverse judgement, but thought that it was more

Diodorus, chaps. 23-40, is the principal source for the Sacred War. Short sketches appear in Pausanias, 10. 2 and in Justin, 8. 1-2.
[2] See Demosthenes, 19. 61.
[3] Book 15. 53-56.
[4] See Book 15. 20. 2.

προσώπου τῶν Φωκέων εὐσχημονέστερον ἔκρινον ἀκυρῶσαι τὰς κρίσεις τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων. διὰ δὴ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ἑτοιμότατα συνεμάχουν τοῖς Φωκεῦσι καὶ τὴν προστασίαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ συγκατεσκεύαζον αὐτοῖς.

30. Φανεροῦ δ' ὄντος ὅτι Βοιωτοὶ μεγάλῃ δυνάμει στρατεύσουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Φωκεῖς ὁ Φιλόμηλος ἔκρινε μισθοφόρων ἀθροίζειν πλῆθος. προσδεομένου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου χρημάτων πλειόνων ἠναγκάζετο τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐπιβάλλειν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ συλᾶν τὸ μαντεῖον. ὑποστησαμένου δ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς ξένοις μισθοὺς ἡμιολίους ταχὺ πλῆθος ἠθροίσθη μισθοφόρων, πολλῶν ὑπακουόντων πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν
2 διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν μισθῶν. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἐπιεικῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐδεὶς ἀπεγράψατο πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν, οἱ δὲ πονηρότατοι καὶ θεῶν διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν καταφρονοῦντες προθύμως συνέτρεχον πρὸς τὸν Φιλόμηλον καὶ ταχὺ δύναμις ἰσχυρὰ συνέστη τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν
3 ὁρμωμένων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Φιλόμηλος διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς εὐπορίας ταχὺ δύναμιν ἀξιόχρεων κατεσκευάσατο. εὐθὺς οὖν ἐστράτευσεν εἰς τὴν τῶν Λοκρῶν χώραν ἔχων στρατιώτας ἱππεῖς τε καὶ πεζοὺς πλείους τῶν μυρίων. ἀντιταχθέντων δὲ τῶν Λοκρῶν καὶ τῶν Βοιωτῶν βοηθησάντων τοῖς Λοκροῖς ἱππομαχία συνέστη, καθ' ἣν προετέρησαν οἱ Φω-
4 κεῖς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν Θετταλοὶ μετὰ τῶν πλησιοχώρων συμμάχων ἀθροισθέντες εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους ἧκον εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα καὶ συνάψαντες μάχην τοῖς Φωκεῦσι περὶ λόφον Ἀργόλαν ὀνομαζόμενον

seemly to annul the judgements of the Amphictyons through the agency of the Phocians. For these particular reasons they were very ready to fight on the side of the Phocians and they co-operated in securing for them the guardianship of the sanctuary. 354/3 B.C.

30. When it was clear that the Boeotians would take the field with a large army against the Phocians, Philomelus decided to gather a great number of mercenaries. Since the war required ampler funds he was compelled to lay his hands [1] on the sacred dedications and to plunder the oracle. By setting the base pay for the mercenaries at half as much again as was usual he quickly assembled a large number of mercenaries, since many answered the summons to the campaign on account of the size of the pay. Now no men of honourable character enrolled for the campaign because of their reverence for the gods, but the worst knaves, and those who despised the gods, because of their own greed, eagerly gathered about Philomelus and quickly a strong army was formed out of those whose object it was to plunder the shrine. So Philomelus, because of the magnitude of his resources, soon had prepared a considerable army. He immediately advanced into the territory of the Locrians with soldiers both foot and horse amounting to more than ten thousand. When the Locrians marshalled their forces to meet him and the Boeotians came to the support of the Locrians, a cavalry battle ensued in which the Phocians had the superiority. After this the Thessalians together with the allies from neighbouring districts, having assembled to the number of six thousand, arrived in Locris and joining battle with the Phocians met with a defeat by a hill called

[1] For a contrary statement see chap. 56. 5.

ἡττήθησαν. ἐπιφανέντων δὲ Βοιωτῶν μυρίοις καὶ
τρισχιλίοις στρατιώταις καὶ τῶν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου
Ἀχαιῶν χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις βοηθησάντων τοῖς
Φωκεῦσιν ἀντεστρατοπέδευσαν αἱ δυνάμεις, ἀμφο-
τέρων ἀθροισθέντων εἰς ἕνα τόπον.

31. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν Βοιωτοὶ κατὰ τὰς προ-
νομὰς ζωγρήσαντες οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν μισθοφόρων,
προαγαγόντες πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐκήρυξαν ὅτι τούσδε
τοὺς ἄνδρας οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες στρατευσαμένους μετὰ
τῶν ἱεροσύλων θανάτῳ κολάζουσιν· εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ
τῶν ἔργων τοῖς λόγοις ἀκολουθούντων ἅπαντας
2 κατηκόντισαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ παρὰ τοῖς Φω-
κεῦσι μισθοφόροι παροξυνθέντες ἠξίουν τὸν Φιλό-
μηλον τῆς ὁμοίας τιμωρίας ἀξιῶσαι τοὺς πολεμίους,
μεγάλην δὲ φιλονεικίαν εἰσενεγκάμενοι καὶ πολλοὺς
τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν πλανωμένων παρὰ τοῖς πο-
λεμίοις ζωγρήσαντες ἀνήγαγον, οὓς ἅπαντας ὁ
Φιλόμηλος κατηκόντισε. διὰ δὲ ταύτης τῆς κολά-
σεως τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐποίησαν μεθέσθαι[1] τῆς ὑπερη-
3 φάνου καὶ δεινῆς τιμωρίας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν
δυνάμεων εἰς ἄλλην χώραν ἐμβαλουσῶν καὶ τὴν
ὁδοιπορίαν ποιουμένων διὰ τόπων καταδένδρων καὶ
τραχέων ἄφνω συνέμιξαν ἀλλήλοις οἱ προηγούμενοι
τῆς στρατιᾶς. γενομένης δὲ συμπλοκῆς εἶτα μάχης
ἰσχυρᾶς, οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τῷ πλήθει πολὺ προέχοντες
4 ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Φωκεῖς. τῆς δὲ φυγῆς γινομένης
διὰ τόπου κρημνώδους καὶ δυσεξίτου πολλοὶ τῶν
τε Φωκέων καὶ μισθοφόρων κατεκόπησαν· ὁ δὲ
Φιλόμηλος ἐκθύμως ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ πολλοῖς

[1] So Cobet: μεταθέσθαι.

[1] Unmentioned elsewhere.

Argolas.[1] When the Boeotians put in an appearance 354/3 B.C.
with thirteen thousand men and the Achaeans from the Peloponnesus came to the support of the Phocians with fifteen hundred, the armies encamped over against one another, both assembled in one place.

31. After this the Boeotians, who had taken captive on foraging parties a good many mercenaries, brought them out in front of the city and made an announcement by heralds that the Amphictyons were punishing with death these men present who had enlisted with the temple-robbers; and immediately, making the deed follow the word, shot them all down. But the mercenaries serving with the Phocians were so enraged by this that they demanded of Philomelus that he mete out the like punishment to the enemy, and then, when, bending every effort, they had taken captive many men who were straggling up and down the countryside where the enemy were, they brought them back and all these Philomelus shot. Through this punishment they forced the opposite side to give up their overweening and cruel vengeance. After this, as the armies were invading another district and were making a march through heavily wooded rough regions, both vanguards suddenly became intermingled. An engagement took place and then a sharp battle in which the Boeotians, who far outnumbered the Phocians, defeated them. As the flight took place through precipitous and almost impassable country[2] many of the Phocians and their mercenaries were cut down. Philomelus, after he had fought courageously and had suffered many

[2] The decisive battle was fought at Neon (see Pausanias, 10. 2. 4). A good description of the campaign is given by Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², 3. 1. 250, note 1, and by Pickard-Cambridge, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 215 ff.

τραύμασι περιπεσὼν εἴς τινα κρημνώδη τόπον συνεκλείσθη· οὐκ ἔχων δὲ διέξοδον καὶ φοβούμενος τὴν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας αἰκίαν ἑαυτὸν κατεκρήμνισε καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον δοὺς τῷ δαιμονίῳ δίκας κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον. ὁ δὲ συνάρχων αὐτῷ στρατηγὸς Ὀνόμαρχος διαδεξάμενος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀνασωζομένης δυνάμεως ἀναχωρήσας ἀνελάμβανε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἐπανιόντας.

6 Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Φίλιππος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς Μεθώνην μὲν ἐκπολιορκήσας καὶ διαρπάσας κατέσκαψε, Παγασὰς[1] δὲ χειρωσάμενος ἠνάγκασεν ὑποταγῆναι. κατὰ δὲ τὸν Πόντον Λεύκων ὁ τοῦ Βοσπόρου βασιλεὺς ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρξας ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος Σπάρτακος[2] ὁ υἱὸς ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη πέντε.

7 Ῥωμαίοις δὲ πρὸς Φαλίσκους συνέστη πόλεμος καὶ μέγα μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδ᾽ ἄξιον μνήμης ἐπετελέσθη, καταδρομαὶ δὲ καὶ πορθήσεις τῆς χώρας τῶν Φαλίσκων ἐγίνοντο. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν Δίωνος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σφαγέντος ὑπὸ Ζακυνθίων τινῶν[3] μισθοφόρων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν διεδέξατο Κάλλιππος ὁ τούτους πρὸς τὸν φόνον παρασκευάσας καὶ ἦρξε μῆνας τρεισκαίδεκα.

[1] So Gemistius: Πάγας.
[2] Σπάρτακος regularly in Diodorus: Σπαρτάκης X. Properly Σπάρτοκος (see note below).
[3] So Dindorf: τῶν.

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[1] The last city on the coast of Philip's possessions still belonging to Athens. Diodorus repeats the notice of its capture in chap. 34. 4 f. For the date see Beloch, *op. cit.* 3. 2. 269 and Pickard-Cambridge, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 219.

[2] The correct spelling is Spartocus (Σπάρτοκος) according to Latyschew, *Inscr. Ant. Orae Sept. Ponti Eux.* p. xviii. Diodorus is probably wrong as to the dates of these reigns. For a discussion see Beloch, *op. cit.* 3. 2. 91 ff., with whom Cary, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 71 disagrees.

wounds, was driven into a precipitous area and there 354/3 B.C.
hemmed in, and since there was no exit from it and he feared the torture after capture, he hurled himself over the cliff and having thus made atonement to the gods ended his life. Onomarchus, his colleague in the generalship, having succeeded to the command and retreated with such of his force as survived, collected any who returned from the flight.

While these things were going on, Philip, king of the Macedonians, after taking Methonê[1] by storm and pillaging it, razed it to the ground, and having subdued Pagasae forced it to submit. In the region of the Black Sea Leucon, the king of the Bosporus, died after ruling forty years, and Spartacus,[2] his son, succeeding to the throne, reigned for five years. A war took place between the Romans and Faliscans[3] and nothing important or memorable was accomplished; only raids and pillaging of the territory of the Faliscans went on. In Sicily after Dion the general had been slain by some mercenaries from Zacynthos, Callippus,[4] who had procured them for the assassination, succeeded him and ruled thirteen months.

[3] See Livy, 7. 16. 2-6.

[4] Callippus was a member of Plato's Academy (cf. Athenaeus, 11. 508 E; Diogenes Laertius, 3. 46; Suidas; only "an Athenian" in Plato, *Ep.* 7. 333 E, quoted by Plutarch, *Dion*, 54) who accompanied his friend Dion to Syracuse. Claiming that Dion was substituting one tyranny for another but actually wishing to get power himself, Callippus effected his assassination. (See Beloch, *op. cit.* 3. 1. 261 and note, and Hackforth, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 284 f.) Parallel accounts are Plutarch, *Dion*, 54-57; Nepos, *Dion*, 8-10 (Callicrates *sic*).

32. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Θουδήμου[1] Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκον Πόπλιον καὶ Μάρκον Φάβιον.[2] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Βοιωτοὶ νενικηκότες τοὺς Φωκεῖς καὶ νομίσαντες τὸν αἰτιώτατον τῆς ἱεροσυλίας Φιλόμηλον ὑπὸ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων κεκολασμένον ἀποτρέψειν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοίας
2 κακίας ἀνέζευξαν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν. οἱ δὲ Φωκεῖς ἀπολυθέντες τοῦ πολέμου κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἐπανῆλθον εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ συνελθόντες μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων εἰς κοινὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ τοῦ πολέμου. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπιεικέστατοι πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην ἔρρεπον, οἱ δ' ἀσεβεῖς καὶ τόλμῃ καὶ πλεονεξίᾳ διαφέροντες ἐφρόνουν τὰ ἐναντία καὶ περιεβλέποντο ζητοῦντες τὸν συνηγορήσοντα ταῖς σφετέραις παρανομίαις.
3 Ὀνόμαρχος δὲ πεφροντισμένον λόγον διελθὼν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τηρεῖν τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς προαίρεσιν προετρέψατο τὰ πλήθη πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, οὐχ οὕτω τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέροντος προνοηθείς, ὡς τὸ ἴδιον λυσιτελὲς προκρίνας· πολλαῖς γὰρ καὶ μεγάλαις δίκαις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἦν καταδεδικασμένος ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τὰ ὀφλήματα οὐκ ἐκτετικώς. διόπερ ὁρῶν αἱρετώτερον αὐτῷ[3] τὸν πόλεμον ὄντα τῆς εἰρήνης εὐλόγως τοὺς Φωκεῖς καὶ συμμάχους παρ-
4 ώξυνε τηρεῖν τὴν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ Φιλομήλου. αἱρεθεὶς δὲ στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ μισθοφόρων τε πλῆθος ἤθροιζε καὶ τὰς τῶν τετελευτηκότων τάξεις ἀναπληρώσας καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ξενολογηθέντων αὐξήσας τὴν δύναμιν μεγάλας παρασκευὰς ἐποιεῖτο

[1] Θουδήμου Kirchner, *Pros. Att.* no. 7248 : Εὐδήμου.
[2] Μάρκον Φάβιον καὶ Μάρκον Πόπλιον (cp. chap. 15. 1) RF ; all MSS. have Πόπλιον, but *Popilius* Livy, 7. 17. 1.
[3] αὑτῷ Bekker : αὐτῷ.

32. When Thudemus was archon at Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Marcus Poplius and Marcus Fabius. During their term of office, now that the Boeotians had won a victory over the Phocians and were of the opinion that the fate of Philomelus, who was chiefly responsible for the plundering of the temple and who had been punished by gods and men, would deter the rest from like villainy, they returned to their own country. But the Phocians, now freed from the war, for the present returned to Delphi and there meeting with their allies in a common assembly deliberated on the war. The moderate party inclined toward the peace, but the irreligious, the hot-headed and avaricious were of the opposite opinion and were looking around to find the proper spokesman to support their lawless aims. When Onomarchus arose and delivered a carefully argued speech urging them to adhere to their original purpose, he swung the sentiment of the gathering toward war, though he did so not so much with the intention of consulting the common welfare as with a view to his own interests, for he had been sentenced frequently and severely by the Amphictyons in the same manner as the rest and had not discharged the fines. Accordingly, seeing that war was more desirable for himself than peace, he quite logically urged the Phocians and their allies to adhere to the project of Philomelus. Having been chosen general with supreme command, he began to collect a large number of mercenaries, and, filling the gaps in his ranks caused by the casualties and having increased his army by the large number of foreigners enrolled, he set about making great preparations of 353/2 B.C.

συμμάχων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εἰς πόλεμον χρη-
σίμων.
33. Ἐπῆρε δ' αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν ὑπόστασιν ταύτην
ὄνειρος ἔμφασιν διδοὺς μεγάλης αὐξήσεώς τε καὶ
δόξης· κατὰ γὰρ τὸν ὕπνον ἔδοξε τὸν κολοττὸν τὸν
χαλκοῦν ὃν ἀνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος
οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες, ἀναπλάττειν εἰς ὕψος ταῖς ἰδίαις
χερσὶ καὶ ποιῆσαι πολὺ μείζονα. ὑπέλαβεν οὖν
αὐτῷ σημαίνεσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν αὔξησιν δόξης
ἔσεσθαι διὰ τῆς αὑτοῦ[1] στρατηγίας· τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς
οὐχ οὕτως εἶχε, τοὐναντίον δὲ παρεσημαίνετο· διὰ τὸ
τοὺς Ἀμφικτύονας ἐκ τοῦ ζημιώματος ἀναθεῖναι,[2]
τῶν Φωκέων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν παρανομησάντων καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο ζημιωθέντων, ἐσημαίνετο ἡ ζημία τῶν Φω-
κέων αὔξησιν ἀπολήψεσθαι ταῖς τοῦ Ὀνομάρχου
2 χερσίν· ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη γενέσθαι. ὁ δ' οὖν[3] Ὀνό-
μαρχος στρατηγὸς[4] αὐτοκράτωρ ᾑρημένος ἐκ μὲν τοῦ
χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου κατεσκεύασεν ὅπλων πλῆθος, ἐκ
δὲ τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου νόμισμα κόψας ταῖς
τε συμμαχούσαις πόλεσι διεδίδου καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς
προεστηκότας ἐδωροδόκει. διέφθειρε δὲ καὶ τῶν
πολεμίων πολλούς, οὓς μὲν συμμαχεῖν πείθων, οὓς
3 δὲ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἀξιῶν. πάντα δὲ ῥᾳδίως
ἐπετέλει διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων φιλαργυρίαν· καὶ
γὰρ τοὺς Θετταλούς, μέγιστον ἔχοντας τῶν συμ-
μάχων ἀξίωμα, δωροδοκήσας ἔπεισε τὴν ἡσυχίαν

[1] So Dindorf: αὐτοῦ.
[2] ἀναθεῖναι added by Post. Fischer proposed τὸν κολοττὸν ἀνατεθεικέναι παρεσημαίνετο after ζημιωθέντων with omission of παρεσημαίνετο above.
[3] So Hertlein: ὁ οὖν.
[4] στρατηγὸς added by Fischer (cp. chaps. 32. 4, 52. 2, etc.).

allies and of everything else that is serviceable for war. 353/2 B.C.

33. He was greatly encouraged in this undertaking by a dream which gave intimation of great increase of power and glory. In his sleep, namely, it seemed that he was remodelling with his own hands the bronze statue[1] which the Amphictyons had dedicated in the temple of Apollo, making it much taller and larger. He accordingly assumed that a sign was being given to him from the gods that there would be an increase of glory because of his services as general. But the truth turned out to be otherwise, rather the contrary was indicated because of the fact that the Amphictyons had dedicated the statue out of the fines paid by the Phocians who had acted lawlessly toward the shrine and had been fined for so doing. What was indicated was that the fine of the Phocians would take on an increase at the hands of Onomarchus; and such turned out to be the case. Onomarchus, when he had been chosen general in supreme command, prepared a great supply of weapons from the bronze and iron, and having struck coinage from the silver and gold distributed it among the allied cities and chiefly gave it as bribes to the leaders of those cities. Indeed he succeeded in corrupting many of the enemy too, some of whom he persuaded to fight on his side, and others he required to maintain the peace. He easily accomplished everything because of man's greed. In fact he persuaded even the Thessalians, who were held in highest esteem amongst the allies, by bribes to

[1] No mention of a "colossus" has been found. Pausanias (10. 15. 1) mentions a statue of Apollo dedicated by the Amphictyons from the fines levied upon the Phocians.

ἔχειν. καὶ τῶν μὲν Φωκέων τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους συλλαμβάνων ἀνῄρει καὶ τὰς οὐσίας ἐδήμευεν. εἰς δὲ τὴν πολεμίαν ἐμβαλὼν Θρόνιον μὲν ἐκπολιορκήσας ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, Ἀμφισσεῖς δὲ καταπληξά-
4 μενος ἠνάγκασεν ὑποτάττεσθαι. τὰς δ' ἐν Δωριεῦσι πόλεις πορθήσας τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐδῄωσεν. εἰς δὲ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐμβαλὼν Ὀρχομενὸν μὲν εἷλεν, ἐπιχειρήσας δ' ἐκπολιορκεῖν[1] Χαιρώνειαν καὶ ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν.

34. Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Ἀρτάβαζος, ἀποστάτης ὢν τοῦ βασιλέως, διεπολέμει πρὸς τοὺς ἀποσταλέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως σατράπας εἰς τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον συμμαχοῦντος αὐτῷ Χάρητος τοῦ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῦ ἐρρωμένως ἀντετάττετο τοῖς σατράπαις, ἐκείνου δ' ἀπελθόντος μονωθεὶς ἔπεισε τοὺς Θηβαίους συμμαχίαν αὐτῷ πέμψαι. οἱ δὲ Παμμένη στρατηγὸν ἑλόμενοι καὶ δόντες αὐτῷ στρατιώτας πεντακισχιλίους ἐξέ-
2 πεμψαν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. ὁ δὲ Παμμένης βοηθήσας Ἀρταβάζῳ καὶ τοὺς σατράπας μεγάλαις μάχαις δυσὶ νικήσας περιεποιήσατο μεγάλην δόξαν ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς. ἐφάνη γὰρ θαυμαστὸν εἰ Βοιωτοὶ τῶν μὲν Θετταλῶν ἐγκαταλελοιπότων, τοῦ δὲ Φωκικοῦ πολέμου μεγάλους ἐπιφέροντος κινδύνους διαποντίους δυνάμεις εἰς Ἀσίαν ἐξέπεμπον καὶ προετέρουν κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις.

[1] So Capps: δὲ πολιορκεῖν.

[1] The Locrians.

[2] In Epicnemidian Locris. Alponus, Thronion, and Nicaea were posts controlling the roads to Thermopylae held by Phocians (cp. Aeschines, *On the Embassy*, 132 ; Demosthenes. 19. 83).

maintain the peace. In his dealings with the Phocians 353/2 B.C. also he arrested and executed those who opposed him and confiscated their property. After invading the territory of the enemy[1] he took Thronion[2] by storm and reduced its inhabitants to slavery, and having intimidated the Amphissans[3] by threats he forced them to submit. He sacked the cities of the Dorians[4] and ravaged their territory. He invaded Boeotia, captured Orchomenus, then, having attempted to reduce Chaeroneia by siege and being defeated by the Thebans, he returned to his own territory.

34. While these things were going on, Artabazus, who had revolted from the Persian King, continued the war against the satraps who had been dispatched by the King to take part in the war against him. At first when Chares the Athenian general was fighting with him, Artabazus resisted the satraps courageously, but when Chares[5] had gone and he was left alone he induced the Thebans to send him an auxiliary force. Choosing Pammenes[6] as general and giving him five thousand soldiers, they dispatched him to Asia. Pammenes, by the support he gave to Artabazus and by defeating the satraps in two great battles, won great glory for himself and the Boeotians. Now it seemed an amazing thing that the Boeotians, after the Thessalians had left them in the lurch, and when the war with the Phocians was threatening them with serious dangers, should be sending armies across the sea into Asia and for the most part proving successful in the battles.

[3] In Ozolian Locris. Cp. Plutarch, *Mulierum Virtutes*, 249 E, F. [4] See Strabo, 9. 4. 11. [5] See chap. 22. 1-2.

[6] For this campaign see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², 3. 1. 250-251 ; Pickard-Cambridge, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 217-218 ; Glotz, *Hist. gr.* 3. 268.

3 Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις συνέστη πόλεμος Ἀργείοις πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ γενομένης μάχης περὶ πόλιν Ὀρνεὰς ἐνίκων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τὰς Ὀρνεὰς ἐκπολιορκήσαντες ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην. Χάρης δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς εἰσπλεύσας εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ Σηστὸν πόλιν ἑλὼν τοὺς μὲν ἡβῶντας ἀπέσφαξεν, τοὺς δ'
4 ἄλλους ἐξηνδραποδίσατο. Κερσοβλέπτου δὲ τοῦ Κότυος διά τε τὴν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἀλλοτριότητα καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους φιλίαν ἐγχειρίσαντος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὰς ἐν Χερρονήσῳ πόλεις πλὴν Καρδίας ἀπέστειλεν ὁ δῆμος κληρούχους εἰς τὰς πόλεις. Φίλιππος δ' ὁρῶν τοὺς Μεθωναίους ὁρμητήριον παρεχομένους τὴν πόλιν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἑαυτοῦ
5 πολιορκίαν συνεστήσατο. καὶ μέχρι μέν τινος οἱ Μεθωναῖοι διεκαρτέρουν, ἔπειτα κατισχυόμενοι συνηναγκάσθησαν παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν τῷ βασιλεῖ ὥστε ἀπελθεῖν τοὺς πολίτας ἐκ τῆς Μεθώνης ἔχοντας ἓν ἱμάτιον ἕκαστον. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος τὴν μὲν πόλιν κατέσκαψε τὴν δὲ χώραν διένειμε τοῖς Μακεδόσιν. ἐν δὲ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ ταύτῃ συνέβη τὸν Φίλιππον εἰς τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν πληγέντα τοξεύματι διαφθαρῆναι τὴν ὅρασιν.

35. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ Φίλιππος ὑπὸ Θετταλῶν μετακληθεὶς ἧκεν εἰς Θετταλίαν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρὸς Λυκόφρονα τὸν Φερῶν τύραννον διεπολέμει βοηθῶν τοῖς Θεττα-

[1] A city in Argolis. See chap. 39. 4 for repetition of this event with greater detail of narrative. (Cp. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], 3. 2. 272.)

While these things were going on, war broke out between the Argives and the Lacedaemonians, and in a battle that took place near the city of Orneae [1] the Lacedaemonians won, and after they had taken Orneae by siege, returned to Sparta. Chares the Athenian general sailed to the Hellespont, captured Sestus, slew its adult inhabitants, and enslaved the rest. And when Cersobleptes,[2] son of Cotys, because of his hostility to Philip and his alliance of friendship with the Athenians, had turned over to the Athenians the cities on the Chersonese except Cardia, the assembly sent out colonists [3] to these cities. Philip, perceiving that the people of Methonê were permitting their city to become a base of operations for his enemies, began a siege. And although for a time the people of Methonê held out, later, being overpowered, they were compelled to hand the city over to the king on the terms that the citizens should leave Methonê with a single garment each. Philip then razed the city and distributed its territory among the Macedonians.[4] In this siege it so happened that Philip was struck in the eye by an arrow and lost the sight of that eye. 353/2 B.C.

35. After this Philip in response to a summons from the Thessalians entered Thessaly with his army, and at first carried on a war against Lycophron, tyrant of Pherae,[5] in support of the Thessalians [6]; but later,

[2] So spelled by Diodorus. Properly Κερσεβλέπτης (cp. Hoeck, *Hermes*, 26. 100, note 3). King of Thrace, 360–341.

[3] Cleruchs or holders of allotments of land. See *IG*, 2. 795.

[4] See Justin, 7. 6. 13-16; Demosthenes, 4. 35; and chap. 31. 6; also *IG*, 2[2]. 1. 130.

[5] See chap. 14. 1.

[6] See chap. 33. 3 and Polyaenus, 4. 2. 19.

λοῖς· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Λυκόφρονος μεταπεμψα-
μένου παρὰ τῶν Φωκέων συμμαχίαν ἀπεστάλη
Φάυλλος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ὀνομάρχου μετὰ στρατιωτῶν
ἑπτακισχιλίων. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος τοὺς Φωκεῖς νική-
2 σας ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς Θετταλίας. Ὀνόμαρχος δ'
ἀναλαβὼν πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ νομίζων ὅλης τῆς
Θετταλίας κυριεύσειν ἧκεν ἐν τάχει βοηθήσων τοῖς
περὶ τὸν Λυκόφρονα. τοῦ δὲ Φιλίππου μετὰ τῶν
Θετταλῶν ἀντιπαραταξαμένου τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν Ὀνό-
μαρχος ὑπερέχων τοῖς πλήθεσι δυσὶ μάχαις ἐνίκησε
καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀνεῖλεν. Φίλιππος δ'
εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους περικλεισθεὶς καὶ τῶν
στρατιωτῶν διὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν καταλιπόντων αὐτὸν
παραθαρσύνας τὸ πλῆθος μόγις ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς
3 εὐπειθεῖς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φίλιππος μὲν ἀνε-
χώρησεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, Ὀνόμαρχος δὲ στρατεύ-
σας εἰς Βοιωτίαν ἐνίκησε μάχῃ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς καὶ
πόλιν εἷλε Κορώνειαν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Θετταλίαν
Φίλιππος μὲν ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας μετὰ τῆς δυνά-
μεως ἄρτι κατηντηκὼς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Λυκό-
4 φρονα τὸν Φερῶν τύραννον. οὗτος δ' οὐκ ὢν
ἀξιόμαχος μετεπέμψατο συμμαχίαν παρὰ Φωκέων,
ἐπαγγελλόμενος συγκατασκευάσειν αὐτοῖς τὰ κατὰ
τὴν Θετταλίαν. διόπερ Ὀνομάρχου σπουδῇ[1] βοη-
θήσαντος μετὰ πεζῶν δισμυρίων καὶ πεντακοσίων
ἱππέων ὁ μὲν Φίλιππος πείσας τοὺς Θετταλοὺς
κοινῇ τὸν πόλεμον ἄρασθαι συνήγαγε τοὺς πάντας
πεζοὺς μὲν ὑπὲρ τοὺς δισμυρίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ τρισ-
5 χιλίους. γενομένης δὲ παρατάξεως ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ
τῶν Θετταλῶν ἱππέων τῷ πλήθει καὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς

[1] So Sherman, σπουδῇ πάσῃ Capps: πεζῇ (deleted by Reiske).

when Lycophron summoned an auxiliary force from 353/2 B.C. his allies the Phocians, Phaÿllus, the brother of Onomarchus, was dispatched with seven thousand men. But Philip defeated the Phocians and drove them out of Thessaly. Then Onomarchus came in haste with his entire military strength to the support of Lycophron, believing that he would dominate all Thessaly. When Philip in company with the Thessalians joined battle against the Phocians, Onomarchus with his superior numbers defeated him in two battles and slew many of the Macedonians. As for Philip, he was reduced to the uttermost perils and his soldiers were so despondent that they had deserted him, but by arousing the courage of the majority, he got them with great difficulty to obey his orders. Later Philip withdrew to Macedonia, and Onomarchus, marching into Boeotia, defeated the Boeotians in battle [1] and took the city of Coroneia. As for Thessaly, however, Philip had just at that time returned with his army from Macedonia [2] and had taken the field against Lycophron, tyrant of Pherae. Lycophron, however, since he was no match for him in strength, summoned reinforcements from his allies the Phocians, promising jointly with them to organize the government of all Thessaly. So when Onomarchus in haste came to his support with twenty thousand foot and five hundred horse, Philip, having persuaded the Thessalians to prosecute the war in common, gathered them all together, numbering more than twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. A severe battle took place and since the Thessalian cavalry were

[1] At Hermeum, cp. Ephorus, fr. 153, and Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 3. 8. 9, 1116 b.

[2] On the chronology of these events see Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], 3. 2. 267–270.

διαφερόντων ἐνίκησεν ὁ Φίλιππος. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ὀνόμαρχον καταφυγόντων εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τυχικῶς παραπλέοντος τοῦ Ἀθηναίου Χάρητος μετὰ πολλῶν τριήρων πολὺς ἐγένετο φόνος τῶν Φωκέων· οἱ γὰρ φεύγοντες ῥίψαντες τὰς πανοπλίας διενήχοντο πρὸς τὰς τριήρεις, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς
6 Ὀνόμαρχος. τέλος δὲ τῶν Φωκέων καὶ μισθοφόρων ἀνῃρέθησαν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ στρατηγός,[1] ἥλωσαν δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν τρισχιλίων. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος τὸν μὲν Ὀνόμαρχον ἐκρέμασε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὡς ἱεροσύλους κατεπόντισεν.

36. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ὀνομάρχου τελευτὴν διεδέξατο τὴν Φωκέων ἡγεμονίαν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Φάυλλος. οὗτος δὲ τὴν γεγενημένην συμφορὰν διορθούμενος μισθοφόρων τε πλῆθος ἤθροιζε, διπλασιάσας τοὺς εἰωθότας μισθούς, καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων βοήθειαν μετεπέμψατο· κατεσκευάζετο δὲ καὶ ὅπλων πλῆθος καὶ νόμισμα κατέκοψε χρυσοῦν τε καὶ ἀργυροῦν.

2 Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς Μαύσωλος ὁ Καρίας δυνάστης ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρξας ἔτη εἴκοσι τέσσαρα, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν διαδεξαμένη Ἀρτεμισία ἡ ἀδελφὴ
3 καὶ γυνὴ ἐδυνάστευσεν ἔτη δύο. Κλέαρχος δ' ὁ Ἡρακλείας τύραννος Διονυσίων ὄντων ἐπὶ θέαν βαδίζων ἀνῃρέθη, ἄρξας ἔτη δεκαδύο[2]· τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν

[1] Madvig places ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ στρατηγός after τρισχιλίων. [2] So PX; δώδεκα RV, δυοκαίδεκα FM.

[1] Beloch thinks it highly improbable that Chares happened to be sailing by in the Gulf of Pagasae where this action is placed. He thinks that the Athenians sent Chares to prevent Philip from taking Pagasae but that Chares arrived too late (*Griechische Geschichte*², 3. 1. 476 and note 3). See chap. 34. 3.

superior in numbers and valour, Philip won. Because 353/2 B.C.
Onomarchus had fled toward the sea and Chares the Athenian was by chance sailing by[1] with many triremes, a great slaughter of the Phocians took place, for the men in their effort to escape would strip off their armour and try to swim out to the triremes, and among them was Onomarchus. Finally more than six thousand of the Phocians and mercenaries were slain, and among them the general himself; and no less than three thousand were taken captives. Philip hanged Onomarchus[2]; the rest he threw into the sea as temple-robbers.

36. After the death of Onomarchus his brother Phayllus succeeded to the command of the Phocians. In an attempt to retrieve the disaster, he began to gather a multitude of mercenaries, offering double the customary pay, and summoned help from his allies. He got ready also a large supply of arms and coined gold and silver money.

About the same time Mausolus, the tyrant of Caria,[3] died after ruling twenty-four years, and Artemisia, his sister and wife, succeeded to the throne and reigned for two years. Clearchus, the tyrant of Heracleia,[4] was slain during the festival of Dionysus as he went to witness the spectacle, after ruling twelve years, and

[2] Contrary to chap. 61. 2 and Pausanias, 10. 2. 5, who states that he was shot down (or "drowned," if we read κατεποντίσθη) by his own men. If Onomarchus is the "general" referred to, as he seems to be, then Philip must have crucified his dead body. For still another account of Onomarchus' death (by drowning as he was being carried out to sea on a frightened horse) see Philo Judaeus in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 8. 14. 33.

[3] See chap. 7. 3.

[4] See Book 15. 81. 5. On his death see Justin, 16. 5. 12 to end and Memnon (*FHG*, 3), 1. 4.

διαδεξάμενος ὁ υἱὸς Τιμόθεος ἦρξεν ἔτη πεντε-
4 καίδεκα. Τυρρηνοὶ δὲ διαπολεμοῦντες Ῥωμαίοις ἐπόρθησαν πολλὴν τῆς πολεμίας χώρας καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Τιβέρεως καταδραμόντες ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν
5 οἰκείαν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς Συρακούσσαις στάσεως γενομένης τοῖς Δίωνος φίλοις πρὸς Κάλλιππον οἱ μὲν τοῦ Δίωνος φίλοι ἡττηθέντες ἔφυγον εἰς τοὺς Λεοντίνους· μετὰ δέ τινα χρόνον Ἱππαρίνου τοῦ Διονυσίου καταπλεύσαντος εἰς τὰς Συρακούσσας μετὰ δυνάμεως ὁ μὲν Κάλλιππος ἡττηθεὶς ἐξέπεσεν τῆς πόλεως, Ἱππαρῖνος δὲ ἀνακτησάμενος τὴν πατρῴαν δυναστείαν ἦρξεν ἔτη δύο.

37. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Ἀριστοδήμου Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Γάιον Σολπίκιον καὶ Μάρκον Οὐαλέριον, ὀλυμπιὰς δ' ἤχθη ἑβδόμη πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον Μικρίνας Ταραντῖνος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Φάυλλος μὲν ὁ Φωκέων στρατηγὸς μετὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τελευτήν τε καὶ ἧτταν προσανέλαβε τὰ τῶν Φωκέων πράγματα τεταπεινωμένα διά τε τὴν ἧτταν καὶ τὴν φθορὰν τῶν
2 στρατιωτῶν. ἔχων γὰρ χρημάτων πλῆθος ἀνέκλειπτον πολλοὺς μὲν μισθοφόρους ἤθροισεν, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ συμμάχους ἔπεισε συνεπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ πολέμου. τῇ γὰρ ἀφθονίᾳ τῶν χρημάτων ἀνέδην χρώμενος οὐ μόνον ἰδιώτας πολλοὺς ἔσχε προθύμους συναγωνιστάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας
3 ἐπεσπάσατο πρὸς τὴν κοινοπραγίαν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν γὰρ ἀπέστειλαν αὐτῷ στρατιώτας χιλίους, Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ δισχιλίους, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πεζοὺς

[1] Memnon (*FHG*, 3), 2. 1 and Justin, *l.c.*, say his brother Satyrus seized the power. See Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2] 3. 2. 94 ff.

[2] See Livy, 7. 17. 6 ff.

his son Timotheüs[1] succeeded to the throne and ruled 353/2 B.C.
for fifteen years. The Etruscans,[2] continuing their war with the Romans, sacked much of the enemy territory and after marauding as far as the Tiber returned to their own country. In Syracuse, civil strife having broken out between the friends of Dion and Callippus,[3] Dion's friends were defeated, fled to Leontini, and, after a short time, when Hipparinus son of Dionysius[4] had put ashore at Syracuse with troops, Callippus was defeated and driven from the city, and Hipparinus, having recovered his father's realm, ruled for two years.

37. When Aristodemus was archon at Athens, the 352/1 B.C.
Romans elected as consuls Gaius Sulpicius and Marcus Valerius, and the one hundred seventh celebration of the Olympian games was held, in which Micrinas of Tarentum won the stadion race. During their term of office Phaÿllus, the general of the Phocians after the death and defeat of his brother, effected another revival of the affairs of the Phocians, then at a low ebb on account of the defeat and slaughter of their soldiers. For since he had an inexhaustible supply of money he gathered a large body of mercenaries, and persuaded not a few allies to co-operate in renewing the war. In fact, by making lavish use of his abundance of money he not only procured many individuals as enthusiastic helpers, but also lured the most renowned cities into joining his enterprise. The Lacedaemonians, for example, sent him a thousand soldiers, the Achaeans two thousand, the Athenians five thousand foot and

[3] See chap. 31. 7; Plutarch, *Dion*, 58. 1-3; Polyaenus, 5. 4.

[4] This Hipparinus was son of the elder Dionysius and of Dion's sister Aristomachê, hence half-brother of the younger Dionysius.

μὲν πεντακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ τετρακοσίους, ὧν ἦν στρατηγὸς Ναυσικλῆς. οἱ δὲ τῶν Φεραίων τύραννοι Λυκόφρων καὶ Πειθόλαος μετὰ τὴν Ὀνομάρχου τελευτὴν ἔρημοι συμμάχων ὄντες τὰς μὲν Φερὰς παρέδοσαν τῷ Φιλίππῳ, αὐτοὶ δ᾽ ὑπόσπονδοι γενόμενοι συνήγαγον τοὺς μισθοφόρους ὄντας δισχιλίους καὶ μετὰ τούτων φυγόντες πρὸς
4 Φάυλλον συνεμάχουν τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν. ἐβοήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐλαττόνων πόλεων οὐκ ὀλίγαι τοῖς Φωκεῦσι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν διαδιδομένων χρημάτων· ὁ γὰρ χρυσὸς τὰς πλεονεξίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκκαλούμενος ἠνάγκασεν αὐτομολεῖν πρὸς τὴν
5 ἐκ τοῦ κέρδους λυσιτέλειαν. ὁ δ᾽ οὖν Φάυλλος μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐστράτευσεν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν καὶ περὶ πόλιν Ὀρχομενὸν ἡττηθεὶς μάχῃ πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπέβαλεν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἄλλης γενομένης μάχης παρὰ τὸν Κηφισὸν ποταμὸν ἐνίκησαν πάλιν Βοιωτοὶ καὶ ἀνεῖλον τῶν πολεμίων ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεντακοσίους,[1] ἐζώγρησαν δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν
6 τετρακοσίων.[2] ὀλίγαις δ᾽ ὕστερον ἡμέραις γενομένης μάχης περὶ Κορώνειαν ἐνίκησαν οἱ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ πεντήκοντα μὲν ἀνεῖλον τῶν Φωκέων, ἑκατὸν δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα ἐζώγρησαν.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰ περὶ Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Φωκεῖς διεληλυθότες ἐπάνιμεν ἐπὶ τὸν Φίλιππον.

38. Οὗτος γὰρ νικήσας τὸν Ὀνόμαρχον ἐπιφανεῖ παρατάξει τήν τ᾽ ἐν Φεραῖς τυραννίδα καθεῖλε καὶ τῇ πόλει τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποδοὺς καὶ τἄλλα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Θετταλίαν καταστήσας προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὰς
2 Πύλας πολεμήσων τοῖς Φωκεῦσι. κωλυσάντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων διελθεῖν τὰς παρόδους ἐπανῆλθεν

[1] τετρακοσίους RF.

[2] ἐζώγρησαν δ᾽ εἰς πεντακοσίους RF.

four hundred horse with Nausicles as their general. 352/1 B.C.
The tyrants of Pherae, Lycophron and Peitholaüs,[1] who were destitute of allies after the death of Onomarchus, gave Pherae over to Philip, while they themselves, being protected by terms of truce, brought together their mercenaries to the number of two thousand, and, having fled with these to Phaÿllus, joined the Phocians as allies. Not a few of the lesser cities as well actively supported the Phocians because of the abundance of money that had been distributed; for gold that incites man's covetousness compelled them to desert to the side which would enable them to profit from their gains. Phaÿllus accordingly with his army carried the campaign into Boeotia, and, suffering defeat near the city of Orchomenus, lost a great number of men. Later in another battle that took place by the Cephisus River the Boeotians won again and slew over five hundred of the enemy and took no fewer than four hundred prisoners. A few days later, in a battle that took place near Coroneia, the Boeotians were victorious and slew fifty of the Phocians, and took one hundred thirty prisoners.

Now that we have recounted the affairs of the Boeotians and Phocians we shall return to Philip.

38. Philip, after his defeat of Onomarchus[2] in a noteworthy battle, put an end to the tyranny in Pherae,[3] and, after restoring its freedom to the city and settling all other matters in Thessaly, advanced to Thermopylae, intending to make war on the Phocians. But since the Athenians prevented him from penetrating the pass,[4] he returned to Macedonia, having

[1] So chap. 39. 3, but Pytholaüs in Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 35. 3.

[2] See chap. 35. 4-6.

[3] See chap. 37. 3.

[4] See Justin, 8. 2. 8-12 and Demosthenes, 19. 84.

εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ηὐξηκὼς ἑαυτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν
ταῖς τε πράξεσι καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείᾳ.
3 Φάυλλος δὲ στρατεύσας εἰς Λοκροὺς τοὺς ὀνομαζο-
μένους[1] Ἐπικνημιδίους τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις ἐχει-
ρώσατο πάσας, μίαν δὲ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Νάρυκα[2]
διὰ προδοσίας νυκτὸς παραλαβὼν πάλιν ἐξέπεσε
καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπέβαλεν οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν
4 διακοσίων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα στρατοπεδεύοντος αὐ-
τοῦ περὶ τὰς ὀνομαζομένας Ἄβας οἱ Βοιωτοὶ νυκτὸς
ἐπιθέμενοι τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν ἀνεῖλον αὐτῶν οὐκ ὀλί-
γους· ἐπαρθέντες δὲ τῷ προτερήματι παρῆλθον εἰς
τὴν τῶν Φωκέων χώραν καὶ πολλὴν αὐτῆς πορθή-
5 σαντες ἤθροισαν λαφύρων πλῆθος. ἐπανιόντων δ'
αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ Ναρυκαίων[3] πόλει πολιορκουμένῃ
βοηθούντων ἐπιφανεὶς ὁ Φάυλλος τούτους μὲν
ἐτρέψατο, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἑλὼν κατὰ κράτος διήρπασε
6 καὶ κατέσκαψεν. αὐτὸς δὲ περιπεσὼν νόσῳ φθινάδι
καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀρρωστήσας ἐπιπόνως καὶ τῆς
ἀσεβείας οἰκείως κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον, καταλιπὼν
τῶν Φωκέων στρατηγὸν Φάλαικον τὸν Ὀνομάρχου
υἱὸν τοῦ τὸν ἱερὸν πόλεμον ἐκκαύσαντος, ἀντίπαιδα
τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντα· παρακατέστησε δ' αὐτῷ ἐπί-
τροπον ἅμα καὶ στρατηγὸν Μνασέαν, ἕνα τῶν
7 ἑαυτοῦ φίλων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Βοιωτοὶ νυκτὸς
ἐπιθέμενοι τοῖς Φωκεῦσι τόν τε στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν
Μνασέαν ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰς
διακοσίους. μετ' ὀλίγον δ' ἱππομαχίας γενομένης

[1] So most MSS. (cp. Book 11. 83. 2), ἐπονομαζομένους FM.

enlarged his kingdom not only by his achievements 352/1 B.C.
but also by his reverence toward the god. Phayllus, having made a campaign into the Locris known as Epicnemidian, succeeded in capturing all the cities but one named Naryx, which he had taken by treachery at night but from which he was expelled again with the loss of two hundred of his men. Later as he was encamped near a place called Abae,[1] the Boeotians attacked the Phocians at night and slew a great number of them ; then, elated by their success, they passed into Phocian territory, and, by pillaging a great portion of it, gathered a quantity of booty. As they were on their way back and were assisting the city of the Narycaeans, which was under siege, Phayllus suddenly appeared, put the Boeotians to flight, and having taken the city by storm, plundered and razed it. But Phayllus himself, falling sick [2] of a wasting disease, after a long illness, suffering great pain as befitted his impious life, died, leaving Phalaecus, son of the Onomarchus [3] who had kindled [4] the Sacred War, as general of the Phocians, a stripling in years, at whose side he had placed as guardian and supporting general Mnaseas, one of his own friends. After this in a night attack upon the Phocians the Boeotians slew their general Mnaseas and about two hundred of his men. A short while later in a cavalry battle which

[1] On the border of Phocis.
[2] See Pausanias, 10. 2. 6 and for an alternative story Philo Judaeus in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 8. 14. 33.
[3] According to Pausanias, 10. 2. 7, Phalaecus was the son of Phayllus.
[4] Said of Philomelus, chap. 23. 1.

[2] Νάρυκα Gronovius (cp. Book 14. 82. 8, Strabo, 9. 4. 2): Ἄρυκαν PX, Ἀρύκαν RVFM.
[3] Ἀρυκαίων PXRV.

περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ὁ Φάλαικος ἡττηθεὶς ἀπέβαλε
τῶν ἱππέων οὐκ ὀλίγους.
39. Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν
Πελοπόννησον ἐγένοντο ταραχαὶ καὶ κινήσεις διὰ
τοιαύτας τινὰς αἰτίας. Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς Μεγα-
λοπολίτας διαφερόμενοι τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν κατέδρα-
μον Ἀρχιδάμου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντος· οἱ δὲ
Μεγαλοπολῖται παροξυνθέντες ἐπὶ τοῖς πραχθεῖσι
καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς οὐκ ὄντες ἀξιόμαχοι παρὰ τῶν
2 συμμάχων μετεπέμψαντο βοήθειαν. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν
οὖν καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Μεσσήνιοι πανδημεὶ κατὰ
τάχος ἐβοήθησαν, Θηβαῖοι δ' ἀπέστειλαν πεζοὺς
μὲν τετρακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντακοσίους, στρα-
3 τηγὸν ἐπιστήσαντες Κηφισίωνα. Μεγαλοπολῖται
μὲν οὖν μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐκστρατεύσαντες
κατεστρατοπέδευσαν περὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ
ποταμοῦ· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τρισχιλίους μὲν πε-
ζοὺς παρὰ Φωκέων προσελάβοντο ἱππεῖς δὲ ἑκατὸν
καὶ πεντήκοντα παρὰ Λυκόφρονος καὶ Πειθολάου
τῶν ἐκπεπτωκότων ἐκ τῆς ἐν Φεραῖς τυραννίδος·
συστησάμενοι δὲ δύναμιν ἀξιόμαχον κατεστρατο-
4 πέδευσαν περὶ Μαντίνειαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ
πόλιν Ὀρνεὰς τῆς Ἀργείας καταντήσαντες ἔφθα-
σαν αὐτὴν ἐκπολιορκήσαντες πρὸ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων
παρουσίας, οὖσαν σύμμαχον τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν.
ἐπεξελθόντων δὲ τῶν Ἀργείων συνάψαντες μάχην
ἐνίκησαν καὶ πλείους τῶν διακοσίων ἀπέκτειναν.
5 τῶν δὲ Θηβαίων ἐπιφανέντων καὶ τῷ μὲν πλήθει
διπλασίων ὄντων ταῖς δ' εὐταξίαις λειπομένων
συνέστη μάχη καρτερά· καὶ τῆς νίκης ἀμφιδόξου
γενομένης οἱ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι τὴν εἰς

took place near Chaeroneia, Phalaecus was defeated 352/1 B.C.
and lost a large number of his cavalry.

39. While these things were going on, throughout the Peloponnese also disturbances and disorders had occurred for the following reasons. The Lacedaemonians, being at variance with the Megalopolitans, overran their country with Archidamus in command, and the Megalopolitans,[1] incensed over their actions but not strong enough to fight by themselves, summoned aid from their allies. Now the Argives, Sicyonians, and Messenians in full force and with all speed came to their assistance; and the Thebans dispatched four thousand foot and five hundred horse with Cephision placed in charge as general. The Megalopolitans accordingly, having taken the field with their allies, encamped near the headwaters of the Alpheius River, while the Lacedaemonians were reinforced by three thousand foot-soldiers from the Phocians and one hundred fifty cavalry from Lycophron and Peitholaüs, the exiled tyrants of Pherae, and, having mustered an army capable of doing battle, encamped by Mantineia. Then having advanced to the Argive city of Orneae,[2] they captured it before the arrival of the enemy, for it was an ally of the Megalopolitans. When the Argives took the field against them, they joined battle and defeated them and slew more than two hundred. Then the Thebans appeared, and since they were in number twice as many though inferior in discipline, a stubborn battle was engaged; and as the victory hung in doubt, the Argives and their allies withdrew

[1] They even sent ambassadors to Athens begging help. It was on this occasion that Demosthenes delivered his speech, "On the Megalopolitans" (*q.v.* 16). See also Pausanias, 8. 27. 9-10.

[2] Cp. chap. 34. 3.

τὰς οἰκείας πόλεις ἐπάνοδον ἐποιήσαντο, Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν ἐμβαλόντες καὶ πόλιν
Ἑλισσοῦντα κατὰ κράτος ἑλόντες καὶ διαρπάσαντες
6 ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην. μετὰ δέ τινα χρόνον
οἱ Θηβαῖοι μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐνίκησαν τοὺς
πολεμίους περὶ Τέλφουσαν καὶ συχνοὺς ἀνελόντες
ἐζώγρησαν Ἀνάξανδρόν τε τὸν ἡγούμενον καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων πλείους τῶν ἑξήκοντα. μετ᾽ ὀλίγον δὲ
χρόνον ἄλλαις δυσὶ μάχαις προετέρησαν καὶ τῶν
7 ἐναντίων οὐκ ὀλίγους κατέβαλον. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀξιολόγῳ μάχῃ νικησάντων,
αἱ δυνάμεις ἀμφοτέρων εἰς τὰς οἰκείας πόλεις
ἐπανῆλθον. ἔπειτα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ποιησα-
μένων ἀνοχὰς πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας ἐπανῆλθον
8 εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι. Φάλαικος δὲ περὶ
τὴν Βοιωτίαν διατρίβων Χαιρώνειαν εἷλε καὶ τῶν
Θηβαίων ἐπιβοηθησάντων ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.
ἔπειθ᾽ οἱ μὲν Βοιωτοὶ πολλῇ δυνάμει στρατεύσαντες
εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα τὴν πλείστην αὐτῆς ἐπόρθησαν
καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν χώραν κτήσεις ἐδῄωσαν· ἔνια
δὲ καὶ τῶν μικρῶν πολισμάτων ἑλόντες καὶ λα-
φύρων πλῆθος ἀθροίσαντες ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν
Βοιωτίαν.

40. Ἐπ᾽ ἄρχοντος δ᾽ Ἀθήνησι Θεέλλου[1] Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκον Φάβιον καὶ Τίτον Κοΐντιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Θηβαῖοι κάμνοντες τῷ πρὸς Φωκεῖς πολέμῳ καὶ χρημάτων ἀπορούμενοι πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψαν πρὸς τὸν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέα παρακαλοῦντες εἰσευπορῆσαι τῇ πόλει χρή-

[1] Cp. Kirchner, *Pros. Att.* no. 6641 : Θεσσαλοῦ MSS. except PX Θεσσάλου. All Attic inscriptions give Θεέλλος as archon ; also Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Epistle to Ammaeus*, i. 4, p. 726. 1 ; Θέλλος Dionysius, *Deinarchus*, 11, p. 655. 1 ; Θεσσαλός Dionysius, *Deinarchus*, 9, p. 648. 5 and 11, p. 656. 7 ; [Θε]σσαλός *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* in *Philologus* 58. 559 (col. i. 11).

to their own cities, while the Lacedaemonians, after invading Arcadia and taking the city Helissus[1] by storm and plundering it, returned to Sparta. Some time after this the Thebans with their allies conquered the enemy near Telphusa[1] and after slaying many took captive Anaxander, who was in command, along with more than sixty others. A short time later they had the advantage in two other battles and felled a considerable number of their opponents. Finally, when the Lacedaemonians proved victorious in an important battle, the armies on both sides withdrew to their own cities. Then when the Lacedaemonians made an armistice with the Megalopolitans the Thebans went back to Boeotia. But Phalaecus, who was lingering in Boeotia, seized Chaeroneia and when the Thebans came to its rescue, was expelled from that city. Then the Boeotians, who now with a large army invaded Phocis, sacked the greater portion of it and plundered the farms throughout the countryside ; and having taken also some of the small towns and gathered an abundance of booty, they returned to Boeotia. 352/1 B.C.

40. When Theellus was archon in Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Marcus Fabius and Titus Quintius. During their term of office the Thebans, growing weary of the war against the Phocians and finding themselves short of funds, sent ambassadors to the King of the Persians urging him to furnish the 351/0 B.C.

[1] For these Arcadian cities see Pausanias, 8. 3. 3 (Ἑλισσών) and 8. 25. 1-3 (Θέλπουσα).

2 ματα· ὁ δ' Ἀρταξέρξης προθύμως ὑπακούσας
ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς δωρεὰν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τριακόσια.
τοῖς δὲ Βοιωτοῖς καὶ τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν ἀκροβολισμοὶ
μὲν καὶ χώρας καταδρομαὶ συνέστησαν, πράξεις δὲ
κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἄξιαι μνήμης οὐ συν-
ετελέσθησαν.
3 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Περσῶν ἐν
μὲν τοῖς ἐπάνω χρόνοις στρατεύσας ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον
πολλοῖς πλήθεσι στρατιωτῶν ἀπέτυχε, κατὰ δὲ
τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καιροὺς πάλιν ἐπολέμησε τοῖς
Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ πράξεις ἀξιολόγους κατεργασάμενος
διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἐνεργείας τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀνεκτήσατο
4 καὶ Φοινίκην καὶ Κύπρον. ἵνα δὲ σαφῆ τὴν περὶ
τούτων ἱστορίαν ποιήσωμεν τὰς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου
προεκθησόμεθα μικρὸν ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς οἰκείους
χρόνους. τῶν γὰρ Αἰγυπτίων ἀπὸ Περσῶν ἀπο-
στάντων κατὰ τοὺς ἀνωτέρω χρόνους Ἀρταξέρξης
ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Ὦχος αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ὢν φιλοπόλεμος
ἐφ' ἡσυχίας ἔμενεν, ἀποστέλλων δὲ δυνάμεις καὶ
στρατηγοὺς πολλάκις ἀπετύγχανε διὰ τὴν κακίαν
5 καὶ ἀπειρίαν τῶν ἡγεμόνων. διὸ καὶ καταφρο-
νηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἠναγκάζετο καρτερεῖν
διά τε τὴν ἀργίαν καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς εἰρηνικόν.
κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καιροὺς τῶν Φοινίκων
καὶ τῶν ἐν Κύπρῳ βασιλέων μιμησαμένων τοὺς

[1] Beloch (*Griechische Geschichte*[2], 3. 1. 483, note 1) suggests that these gifts were not made to the Boeotians for their "schönen Augen," but for help in the Egyptian expedition (cp. chap. 44. 2).

[2] Diodorus has misplaced the conquest of Egypt by Ochus, which occurred in the year 344 or 343. He slurs over here a previous defeat of Ochus which probably belongs to this year (351/0) and is attested by chaps. 44. 1, 48. 1; Demos-

city with a large sum of money. Artaxerxes, readily acceding to the request, made a gift to them of three hundred talents of silver.[1] Between the Boeotians and the Phocians skirmishes and raids on each other's territory occurred but no actions worth mentioning took place during this year. 351/0 B.C.

In Asia the King of the Persians, who had in the period treated above made an expedition into Egypt with vast multitudes of soldiers and was unsuccessful, in the period with which we are now dealing again made war on the Egyptians and, after carrying out some remarkable feats by his own forceful activity, regained possession of Egypt, Phoenicia, and Cyprus.[2] To make clear the history of these events I shall set forth first the causes of the war by reviewing again briefly the period to which these events properly belong. We recall that, when the Egyptians revolted from the Persians in the earlier period, Artaxerxes, known as Ochus,[3] himself unwarlike, remained inactive, and though he sent out armies and generals many times, failed in his attempts because of the cowardice and inexperience of the leaders. And so, though regarded with contempt by the Egyptians, he was compelled to be patient because of his own inertia and peace-loving nature. But in the period now under discussion, when the Phoenicians and the kings in Cyprus had imitated the Egyptians and in contemp-

thenes, 15. 11 f.; Isocrates, *Philip*, 101. In agreement with Beloch on this point (*Griechische Geschichte*[2], 3. 2. 284-287) are Tarn, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 22-23 and Hall, *ibid.* 152-154. See Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, 430-441.

[3] Possibly Diodorus has Artaxerxes II (Mnemon) in mind (cp. Book 15. 90 ff.), for both Demosthenes and Isocrates state that Ochus conducted in person the unsuccessful expedition.

Αἰγυπτίους καὶ διὰ τὴν καταφρόνησιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ὁρμησάντων παροξυνθεὶς ἔκρινε πολεμεῖν
6 τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας. τὸ μὲν οὖν στρατηγοὺς ἐκπέμπειν ἀπεδοκίμασε, δι' ἑαυτοῦ δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας ἀγῶνας ποιήσασθαι διέγνω. διόπερ ὅπλων καὶ βελῶν καὶ σίτου καὶ δυνάμεων μεγάλας παρασκευὰς ποιησάμενος ἤθροισε πεζῶν μὲν τριάκοντα μυριάδας, ἱππέων δὲ τρεῖς, τριήρεις δὲ τριακοσίας, φορτηγοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς τὴν ἀγορὰν κομιζούσας πεντακοσίας.

41. Ἤρξατο δὲ καὶ πρὸς Φοίνικας πολεμεῖν διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς αἰτίας. κατὰ τὴν Φοινίκην ἐστὶ πόλις ἀξιόλογος ὀνόματι Τρίπολις, οἰκείαν ἔχουσα τῇ φύσει τὴν προσηγορίαν· τρεῖς γάρ εἰσιν ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεις σταδιαῖον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἔχουσαι διάστημα· ἐπικαλεῖται δὲ τούτων ἡ μὲν Ἀραδίων, ἡ δὲ Σιδωνίων, ἡ δὲ Τυρίων. ἀξίωμα δ' ἔχει μέγιστον αὕτη τῶν κατὰ τὴν Φοινίκην πόλεων, ἐν ᾗ συνέβαινεν τοὺς Φοίνικας συνέδριον ἔχειν καὶ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ
2 τῶν μεγίστων. τῶν δὲ σατραπῶν καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐν τῇ Σιδωνίων διατριβόντων καὶ κατὰ τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων[1] ἐπιταγὰς ὑβριστικῶς καὶ ὑπερηφάνως προσφερομένων τοῖς Σιδωνίοις οἱ κακούμενοι τὴν ἐπήρειαν χαλεπῶς φέροντες ἔγνωσαν ἀποστῆ-
3 ναι τῶν Περσῶν. πείσαντες δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Φοίνικας τῆς αὐτονομίας ἀντέχεσθαι διεπρεσβεύσαντο πρὸς τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα Νεκτανεβῶ, πολέμιον ὄντα Περσῶν, καὶ πείσαντες παραλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν παρεσκευάζοντο τὰ
4 πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. τῆς δὲ Σιδῶνος εὐδαιμονίᾳ διαφερούσης καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν διὰ τὰς ἐμπορίας μεγά-

[1] So MSS.; προσταγμάτων edd.

tuous disregard of him made a move to revolt, he 351/0 B.C.
became enraged and decided to make war upon the insurgents. So he rejected the practice of sending out generals, and adopted the plan of carrying out in person the struggles to preserve his kingdom. Wherefore, having made great provision of arms, missiles, food, and forces, he assembled three hundred thousand foot-soldiers, thirty thousand horsemen, three hundred triremes, and five hundred merchantmen and other ships to carry the supplies.

41. He began to make war also on the Phoenicians for the following reasons. In Phoenicia there is an important city called Tripolis, whose name is appropriate to its nature, for there are in it three cities, at a distance of a stade from one another, and the names by which these are called are the city of the Aradians, of the Sidonians, and of the Tyrians. This city enjoys the highest repute amongst the cities of Phoenicia, for there, as it happens, the Phoenicians held their common council and deliberated on matters of supreme importance. Now since the King's satraps and generals dwelt in the city of the Sidonians and behaved in an outrageous and high-handed fashion toward the Sidonians in ordering things to be done, the victims of this treatment, aggrieved by their insolence, decided to revolt from the Persians. Having persuaded the rest of the Phoenicians to make a bid for their independence,[1] they sent ambassadors to the Egyptian king Nectanebôs, who was an enemy of the Persians, and after persuading him to accept them as allies they began to make preparations for the war. Inasmuch as Sidon was distinguished for its wealth and its private citizens

[1] Cp. Isocrates, *Philip*, 102.

λους περιπεποιημένων πλούτους ταχὺ τριήρεις τε
πολλαὶ κατεσκευάσθησαν καὶ μισθοφόρων πλῆθος
ἠθροίσθη, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅπλα καὶ βέλη καὶ σῖτος
καὶ τἄλλα πάντα τὰ πρὸς πόλεμον χρήσιμα συν-
5 τόμως κατεσκευάσθη. κατάρχοντες δὲ τῆς ἔχθρας
τὸν μὲν βασιλικὸν παράδεισον ἐν ᾧ τὰς καταλύσεις
οἱ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεῖς εἰώθεισαν ποιεῖσθαι, δεν-
δροτομήσαντες διέφθειραν· ἔπειτα τὸν ἠθροισμένον
ὑπὸ τῶν σατραπῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τοῖς ἵπποις
χόρτον ἐνέπρησαν, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον τοὺς τὰς ὕβρεις
ἐπιτελεσαμένους Πέρσας συλλαβόντες ἐτιμωρή-
6 σαντο. τοῦ δὲ πολέμου τοῦ[1] πρὸς τοὺς Φοίνικας
ταύτην τὴν καταρχὴν λαβόντος ὁ βασιλεὺς πυθό-
μενος τὰ τετολμημένα τοῖς ἀποστάταις πᾶσι μὲν
τοῖς Φοίνιξιν ἠπείλει, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Σιδωνίοις.

42. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Βαβυλῶνι συνηθροικὼς τὰς πεζικὰς
καὶ ἱππικὰς δυνάμεις εὐθὺς ἀναλαβὼν προῆγεν
ἐπὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας· ἐν ὅσῳ δ' οὗτος κατὰ τὴν ὁδοι-
πορίαν ἐβάδιζε, Βέλεσυς ὁ τῆς Συρίας σατράπης
καὶ Μαζαῖος ὁ τῆς Κιλικίας ἄρχων συνελθόντες
2 ἐπολέμουν τοὺς Φοίνικας. Τέννης δ' ὁ τῆς Σιδῶνος
βασιλεὺς προσελάβετο παρ' Αἰγυπτίων στρατιώ-
τας μισθοφόρους Ἕλληνας τετρακισχιλίους, ὧν ἦν
στρατηγὸς Μέντωρ ὁ Ῥόδιος. μετὰ δὲ τούτων
καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν στρατιωτῶν τοῖς προειρημένοις
σατράπαις συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησεν καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους
ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς Φοινίκης.

3 Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις καὶ κατὰ τὴν Κύ-
προν συνέστη πόλεμος, συμπεπλεγμένας ἔχων τὰς
4 πράξεις τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ πολέμῳ. ἐν γὰρ τῇ νήσῳ
ταύτῃ πόλεις ἦσαν ἀξιόλογοι μὲν ἐννέα, ὑπὸ δὲ
ταύτας ὑπῆρχε τεταγμένα μικρὰ πολίσματα τὰ

had amassed great riches from its shipping, many triremes were quickly outfitted and a multitude of mercenaries gathered, and, besides, arms, missiles, food, and all other materials useful in war were provided with dispatch. The first hostile act was the cutting down and destroying of the royal park in which the Persian Kings were wont to take their recreation; the second was the burning of the fodder for the horses which had been stored up by the satraps for the war; last of all they arrested such Persians as had committed the acts of insolence and wreaked vengeance upon them. Such was the beginning of the war with the Phoenicians, and Artaxerxes, being apprised of the rash acts of the insurgents, issued threatening warnings to all the Phoenicians and in particular to the people of Sidon. 351/0 B.C.

42. In Babylon the King, after assembling his infantry and cavalry forces, immediately assumed command of them and advanced against the Phoenicians. While he was still on the way, Belesys, the satrap of Syria, and Mazaeus, the governor of Cilicia, having joined forces, opened the war against the Phoenicians. Tennes, the king of Sidon, acquired from the Egyptians four thousand Greek mercenary soldiers whose general was Mentor the Rhodian. With these and the citizen soldiery he engaged the aforementioned satraps, defeated them, and drove the enemy out of Phoenicia.

While these things were going on, a war broke out in Cyprus also, the actions in which were interwoven with the war we have just mentioned. For in this island were nine populous cities, and under them were ranged the small towns which were suburbs of the

[1] τοῦ added by Hertlein.

προσκυροῦντα ταῖς ἐννέα πόλεσιν. ἑκάστη δὲ τούτων εἶχε βασιλέα τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἄρχοντα, τῷ δὲ
5 βασιλεῖ τῶν Περσῶν ὑποτεταγμένον. οὗτοι πάντες συμφρονήσαντες καὶ μιμησάμενοι τοὺς Φοίνικας ἀπέστησαν καὶ παρασκευασάμενοι τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοκράτορας τὰς ἰδίας βασιλείας ἐποίη-
6 σαν. ἐφ' οἷς παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Ἀρταξέρξης ἔγραψε πρὸς τὸν Ἰδριέα[1] τὸν τῆς Καρίας δυνάστην, ἄρτι μὲν παρειληφότα τὴν ἀρχήν, φίλον δ' ὄντα καὶ σύμμαχον Περσῶν ἐκ προγόνων, ἀθροῖσαι δύναμιν πεζικήν τε καὶ ναυτικὴν τὴν διαπολεμήσουσαν τοῖς
7 ἐν Κύπρῳ βασιλεῦσιν. ὁ δ' ὀξέως παρασκευασάμενος τριήρεις μὲν τεσσαράκοντα στρατιώτας δὲ μισθοφόρους ὀκτακισχιλίους ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον, ἐπιστήσας στρατηγοὺς Φωκίωνα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον καὶ Εὐαγόραν τὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω χρόνοις
8 βεβασιλευκότα κατὰ τὴν νῆσον. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν καταπλεύσαντες εἰς τὴν Κύπρον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν πόλεων Σαλαμῖνα τὴν δύναμιν ἤγαγον. βαλόμενοι δὲ χάρακα καὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὀχυρώσαντες ἐπολιόρκουν τοὺς Σαλαμινίους κατὰ γῆν ἅμα καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. τῆς δὲ νήσου πάσης ἐν εἰρήνῃ πολὺν χρόνον γενομένης καὶ τῆς χώρας εὐδαιμονούσης οἱ στρατιῶται κρατοῦντες τῶν ὑπ-
9 αίθρων πολλὰς ὠφελείας ἤθροισαν. τῆς δὲ τούτων εὐπορίας διαβοηθείσης πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς περαίας Συρίας τε καὶ Κιλικίας συνέρρεον ἐθελοντὶ στρατιῶται πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ κέρδους. τέλος δὲ διπλασιασθείσης τῆς μετ' Εὐαγόρου καὶ Φωκίωνος δυνάμεως οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον εἰς ἀγωνίαν καὶ μεγίστους φόβους ἐνέπιπτον.

[1] So Cospus: Ἀρσιέα PXFM, Γαρισέα RV (cp. chaps. 45. 7, 69. 2).

nine cities. Each of these cities had a king who 351/0 B.C. governed the city and was subject to the King of the Persians. All these kings in common agreement and in imitation of the Phoenicians revolted, and having made preparations for the war, declared their own kingdoms independent. Incensed at these actions, Artaxerxes wrote to Idrieus, despot of Caria, who had just acquired his office and was a friend and ally of the Persians by inheritance from his ancestors, to collect an infantry force and a navy to carry on a war with the kings in Cyprus. Idrieus, after making ready immediately forty triremes and eight thousand mercenary soldiers, sent them to Cyprus, having placed in command as their generals Phocion the Athenian and Evagoras, who had in the former period been king in the island.[1] So these two, having sailed to Cyprus, at once led their army against Salamis, the largest of the cities. Having set up a palisade and fortified the encampment, they began to besiege the Salaminians by land and also by sea. Since all the island had enjoyed peace for a long time and the territory was wealthy, the soldiers, who had possession of the open country, gathered much booty. When word of their affluence got abroad, many soldiers from the opposite coast of Syria and Cilicia flocked over voluntarily in the hope of gain. Finally, after the army with Evagoras and Phocion had been doubled in size, the kings throughout Cyprus fell into a state of great anxiety and terror.

[1] This expedition to Cyprus is placed by Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², 3. 2. 285-287 in the year 344. Hall, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 152-153 is in agreement.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

43. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος τὴν ἀνάζευξιν ποιησάμενος μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Φοινίκην· ὁ δὲ τῆς Σιδῶνος δυνάστης Τέννης[1] πυνθανόμενος τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τῶν Περσῶν δυνάμεως καὶ νομίσας τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας οὐκ ἀξιομάχους εἶναι τὴν σωτηρίαν
2 ἰδίᾳ πορίζειν ἔκρινεν. διόπερ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ θεραπόντων τὸν πιστότατον Θετταλίωνα λάθρᾳ τῶν Σιδωνίων ἐξέπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταξέρξην ἐπαγγελλόμενος αὐτῷ τὴν μὲν Σιδῶνα παραδώσειν τὴν δ' Αἴγυπτον συνεκπολεμήσειν, μεγάλα δ' αὐτῷ συνεργήσειν ἔμπειρον ὄντα τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον τόπων καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ἀποβάσεις ἀκριβῶς
3 εἰδότα. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας τοῦ Θετταλίωνος τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἥσθη διαφερόντως καὶ τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπολύσειν ἔφη τὸν Τέννην,[2] πράξαντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὰ καθωμολογημένα μεγάλας δωρεὰς δώσειν ἐπηγγείλατο. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Θετταλίωνος ὡς καὶ δεξιὰν λαβεῖν ὁ Τέννης[3] ἠξίωσεν, ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ὀργισθεὶς ὡς οὐ πιστευόμενος παρέδωκε τὸν Θετταλίωνα τοῖς ὑπηρέταις καὶ προσέταξεν ἀφελεῖν
4 τὴν κεφαλήν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπαγόμενος ὁ Θετταλίων ἐπὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν τοσοῦτον εἶπεν ὅτι Σὺ μέν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, πράξεις ὃ θέλεις, ὁ μέντοι Τέννης[4] δυνάμενος ἅπαντα καταπρᾶξαι διὰ τὸ μὴ δοῦναί σε τὴν πίστιν οὐδὲν μὴ συντελέσει τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων, πάλιν ἀκούσας

[1] So corrector in R: Τέννης Μέντωρ PX; Μέντωρ cet. See note 2 opposite.
[2] So corrector in R: Μέντορα.
[3] So corrector in R: Τέννη Μέντωρ PX, ὁ μέντωρ cet.

Such was the situation in Cyprus. 351/0 B.C.

43. After this the King of the Persians, who had begun his journey from Babylon, marched with his army against Phoenicia.[1] The ruler of Sidon, Tennes,[2] who was informed of the great size of the Persian army and thought that the insurgents were incapable of fighting against it, decided to provide for his personal safety. Accordingly, without the knowledge of the people of Sidon, he sent the most faithful of his own henchmen, Thettalion, to Artaxerxes with the promise that he would betray Sidon to him, would assist him in vanquishing Egypt, and would render him great service, since he was acquainted with the topography of Egypt and knew accurately the landing-places along the Nile. The King on hearing from Thettalion these particulars was extremely pleased and said that he would free Tennes of the charges relative to the revolt, and he promised to give him rich rewards if he performed all that he had agreed upon. But when Thettalion added that Tennes wished him also to confirm his promise by giving his right hand, thereupon the King, flying into a rage at the thought that he was not trusted, handed Thettalion over to his attendants and gave orders to take off his head. But when, as Thettalion was being led off to his punishment, he simply said: "You, O King, will do as you please, but Tennes, though he is able to achieve complete success, since you refuse the pledge, will assuredly not perform any of his promises," the

[1] Cp. chap. 42. 2; Trogus, *Prol.* 10.
[2] For Tennes in this chapter the MSS. consistently read Mentor.

[4] So edd.: ὁ μέντοι Μέντωρ most MSS., ὁ μὲν σοι Μέντωρ X.

τούτων μετενόησε καὶ μετακαλεσάμενος τοὺς ὑπη-
ρέτας ἀφεῖναι προσέταξε καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἔδωκε τῷ
Θετταλίωνι· ἔστι δ' ἡ πίστις αὕτη βεβαιοτάτη παρὰ
τοῖς Πέρσαις. οὗτος μὲν οὖν παρελθὼν εἰς Σιδῶνα
τὰ πεπραγμένα τῷ Τέννῃ[1] λάθρᾳ τῶν Σιδωνίων
ἀπήγγειλεν.

44. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐν μεγάλῳ τιθέμενος τὸ
κρατῆσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου διὰ τὸ πρότερον ἐλάττωμα
πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὰς μεγίστας τῶν κατὰ
τὴν Ἑλλάδα πόλεων, ἀξιῶν συστρατεῦσαι τοῖς
Πέρσαις ἐπ' Αἰγυπτίους. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὖν καὶ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν φιλίαν ἔφασαν τὴν πρὸς Πέρ-
σας τηρεῖν, συμμαχίαν δὲ ἀποστέλλειν ἀντεῖπαν.
2 Θηβαῖοι δὲ στρατηγὸν ἑλόμενοι Λακράτην ἐξαπ-
έστειλαν μετὰ χιλίων ὁπλιτῶν. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ τρισχι-
λίους στρατιώτας ἐξέπεμψαν, στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτοὶ
μὲν οὐχ εἵλαντο, τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως κατ' ὄνομα τὸν
Νικόστρατον στρατηγὸν αἰτησαμένου συνεχώρησαν.
3 ἦν γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἀγαθὸς καὶ πρᾶξαι καὶ βου-
λεύσασθαι, μεμιγμένην δ'[2] ἔχων τῇ φρονήσει
μανίαν· τῇ γὰρ τοῦ σώματος ῥώμῃ διαφέρων ἐμι-
μεῖτο τὸν Ἡρακλέα κατὰ τὰς στρατείας καὶ λεοντῆν
4 ἐφόρει καὶ ῥόπαλον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις. ὁμοίως δὲ
τούτοις οἱ τὴν παραθαλάττιον τῆς Ἀσίας οἰκοῦντες
Ἕλληνες ἀπέστειλαν στρατιώτας ἑξακισχιλίους,
ὥστε τοὺς πάντας Ἕλληνας γενέσθαι συμμάχους
μυρίους. πρὸ δὲ τῆς τούτων παρουσίας ὁ μὲν
βασιλεὺς διεληλυθὼς τὴν Συρίαν καὶ παραγενό-

[1] Τέννῃ edd.: Μέντορι.
[2] δ' suggested by Fischer: *μεμιγμένην ἔχων*.

[1] See p. 348, note 2 and p. 349, note 3.

King, hearing what he said, again changed his mind 351/0 B.C. and recalling the attendants directed them to release Thettalion, and then he gave him his right hand, which is the surest pledge amongst the Persians. Thettalion accordingly returned to Sidon and reported what had happened to Tennes without the knowledge of the people of Sidon.

44. The Persian King, accounting it a matter of great importance, in view of his former defeat,[1] to overthrow Egypt, dispatched envoys to the greatest cities of Greece requesting them to join the Persians in the campaign against the Egyptians.[2] Now the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians replied that they continued to observe their friendship for the Persians, but were opposed to sending troops as allies. But the Thebans, choosing Lacrates as general, dispatched him with a thousand hoplites. And the Argives sent three thousand men; they did not, however, choose a general themselves, but when the King requested Nicostratus specifically as general, they concurred. Now Nicostratus was good both in action and in counsel, but there was madness mingled with his intelligence; for since he excelled in bodily strength, he would imitate Heracles when on a campaign by wearing a lion's skin and carrying a club in battle. Following the example of these states, the Greeks who inhabited the sea-coast of Asia Minor dispatched six thousand men, making the total number of Greeks who served as allies ten thousand. Before their arrival the Persian King, after he had traversed Syria

[2] Cp. Isocrates, *Panegyric*, 161; Demosthenes, 10. 34 and Didymus, 8. 9 ff. on the passage; *Philip's Letter to Demosthenes* (Demosthenes, 12. 6). See also Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], 3. 1. 535 and Hall, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 152.

μενος εἰς τὴν Φοινίκην ἐστρατοπέδευσεν οὐ μακρὰν
5 τῆς Σιδῶνος. οἱ δὲ Σιδώνιοι κεχρονικότος τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ τὰς παρασκευὰς σίτου τε καὶ ὅπλων καὶ βελῶν πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιήσαντο.[1] ὁμοίως οὖν τὴν πόλιν τάφροις τριπλαῖς μεγάλαις καὶ τειχῶν
6 ὑψηλῶν κατασκευαῖς περιειλήφεισαν. εἶχον δὲ καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἱκανὸν πλῆθος πολιτικῶν ἐν γυμνασίαις[2] καὶ πόνοις ἐνηθληκὸς καὶ ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων εὐεξίαις καὶ ῥώμαις διαφέρον. πλούτῳ δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις χορηγίαις ἡ πόλις πολὺ προεῖχε τῶν κατὰ τὴν Φοινίκην πόλεων, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον τριήρεις καὶ πεντήρεις εἶχε πλείους τῶν ἑκατόν.

45. Ὁ δὲ Τέννης[3] κοινωσάμενος τὴν προδοσίαν Μέντορι τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μισθοφόρων τοῦτον μὲν ἀπέλιπε τηροῦντα μέρος τῆς πόλεως καὶ συνεργοῦντα τοῖς περὶ τὴν προδοσίαν ἐγχειρουμένοις, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ στρατιωτῶν πεντακοσίων προῆγεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, προσποιούμενος ἐπὶ κοινὴν τῶν Φοινίκων σύνοδον ἀπαντᾶν· ἦγε δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τῶν πολιτῶν
2 ἑκατὸν ὡς συμβούλους. ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησίον ἦσαν τοῦ βασιλέως, συναρπάσας τοὺς ἑκατὸν παρέδωκε τῷ Ἀρταξέρξῃ. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτὸν ὡς φίλον τοὺς μὲν ἑκατὸν ὡς αἰτίους ὄντας τῆς ἀποστάσεως κατηκόντισε, πεντακοσίων δὲ τῶν πρώτων Σιδωνίων μεθ' ἱκετηριῶν ἀπαντησάντων ἀνεκαλέσατο τὸν Τέννην καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν εἰ δύναται τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ παραδοῦναι· σφόδρα γὰρ ἔσπευδε μὴ δι' ὁμολογίας τὴν Σιδῶνα παραλαβεῖν, ὅπως ἀπαραιτήτοις συμφοραῖς περιβαλὼν τοὺς Σιδωνίους τῇ τούτων τιμωρίᾳ καταπλήξηται τὰς ἄλλας

[1] Fischer suggests ἐπεποίητο.

and reached Phoenicia, encamped not far from Sidon. 351/0 B.C.
As for the Sidonians, while the King had been slow to move, they attended assiduously to the preparation of food, armour, and missiles. Likewise they had encompassed their city with huge triple ditches and constructions of lofty walls. They had also an ample number of citizen soldiers well trained in exercises and hard work and of superior bodily condition and strength. In wealth and in other resources the city far excelled the other cities of Phoenicia and, most important of all, it had more than a hundred triremes and quinqueremes.

45. Tennes, having confided his scheme for betrayal to Mentor[1] the commander of the mercenaries from Egypt, left him to guard a portion of the city and to act in concert with his agents handling the betrayal, while he himself, with five hundred men, marched out of the city, pretending that he was going to a common meeting of the Phoenicians, and he took with him the most distinguished of the citizens, to the number of one hundred, in the rôle of advisers. When they had come near the King he suddenly seized the hundred and delivered them to Artaxerxes. The King, welcoming him as a friend, had the hundred shot as instigators of the revolt, and when five hundred of the leading Sidonians carrying olive branches as suppliants approached him, he summoned Tennes and asked him if he was able to deliver the city to him; for he was very eager not to receive Sidon on the terms of a capitulation, since his aim was to overwhelm the Sidonians with a merciless disaster and to strike terror into the

[1] Cp. chap. 42. 2.

[2] So Fischer (cp. Pollux, 10. 20. 4): γυμνασίοις.

[3] Τέννης Μέντωρ X, which omits Μέντορι.

3 πόλεις. τοῦ δὲ Τέννου διαβεβαιωσαμένου παρα-
δώσειν τὴν πόλιν ὁ βασιλεύς, φυλάττων τὴν ὀργὴν
ἀπαραίτητον, ἅπαντας τοὺς πεντακοσίους ἔχοντας
τὰς ἱκετηρίας κατηκόντισεν. εἶθ' ὁ μὲν Τέννης
προσελθὼν τοῖς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μισθοφόροις ἔπεισεν
αὐτοὺς ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν εἰσαγαγεῖν αὐτόν τε καὶ
4 τὸν βασιλέα. ἡ μὲν οὖν Σιδὼν διὰ τοιαύτης προ-
δοσίας ὑποχείριος ἐγένετο τοῖς Πέρσαις. ὁ δὲ
βασιλεὺς ὑπολαβὼν τὸν Τέννην μηκέτι χρήσιμον
ὑπάρχειν ἀνεῖλεν. οἱ δὲ Σιδώνιοι πρὸ μὲν τῆς
παρουσίας τοῦ βασιλέως ἐνέπρησαν ἁπάσας τὰς ναῦς,
ὅπως μηδεὶς δύνηται τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐκπλεύσας
ἰδίᾳ[1] σωτηρίαν πορίζεσθαι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὴν πόλιν
ἑώρων καὶ τὰ τείχη κατειλημμένα καὶ πολλαῖς
μυριάσι στρατιωτῶν περιεχόμενα, συγκλείσαντες
ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς τὰς οἰκίας
5 ἐνέπρησαν. φασὶ δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς τότε δια-
φθαρέντας σὺν τοῖς οἰκετικοῖς σώμασι γεγονέναι
πλείους τῶν τετρακισμυρίων. τούτου δὲ τοῦ πά-
θους περὶ τοὺς Σιδωνίους γενομένου καὶ τῆς πόλεως
ὅλης μετὰ τῶν ἐνοικούντων ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀφανι-
σθείσης τὴν πυρκαϊὰν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέδοτο πολλῶν
6 ταλάντων· διὰ γὰρ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τῶν ἐνῳκηκό-
των εὑρέθη πολὺς ἄργυρός τε καὶ χρυσὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ
πυρὸς κεχωνευμένος. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Σιδῶνα
συμβάντα δυστυχήματα τοιαύτην ἔσχε τὴν κατα-

[1] So Wesseling: *ἰδίαν*.

[1] Cp. Hall, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 153: "Tennes was cynically executed by Ochus, and Mentor with equal cynicism taken into his service," with the doubts expressed

other cities by their punishment. When Tennes assured him that he would deliver up the city, the King, maintaining his merciless rage, had all five hundred shot down while still holding the suppliant branches. Thereupon Tennes, approaching the mercenaries from Egypt, prevailed upon them to lead him and the King inside the walls. So Sidon by this base betrayal was delivered into the power of the Persians; and the King, believing that Tennes was of no further use to him, put him to death.[1] But the people of Sidon before the arrival of the King burned all their ships so that none of the townspeople should be able by sailing out secretly to gain safety for himself. But when they saw the city and the walls captured and swarming with many myriads of soldiers, they shut themselves, their children, and their women up in their houses and consumed them all in flames. They say that those who were then destroyed in the fire, including the domestics, amounted to more than forty thousand. After this disaster had befallen the Sidonians and the whole[2] city together with its inhabitants had been obliterated by the fire, the King sold that funeral pyre for many talents, for as a result of the prosperity of the householders there was found a vast amount of silver and gold melted down by the fire. So the disasters which had overtaken Sidon had such an

351/0 B.C.

by Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², 3. 1. 535, note 2: "Tennes' Hinrichtung lässt es zweifelhaft erscheinen, ob er wirklich ein Verräter gewesen ist und nicht vielmehr bloss eine Kapitulation abgeschlossen hat, die dann nicht gehalten worden ist."

[2] Beloch doubts (*Griechische Geschichte*², 3. 1. 535, note 2) if the catastrophe at Sidon could have been as complete as Diodorus reports, since Sidon twelve years later (at the time of Alexander) was a large powerful city. Cp. Arrian, *Alexander*, 2. 20 ff. and Curtius, 4. 1. 15.

στροφήν, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι πόλεις καταπλαγεῖσαι προσ-
εχώρησαν τοῖς Πέρσαις.
7 Βραχὺ δὲ πρὸ τούτων τῶν χρόνων Ἀρτεμισία
μὲν ἡ Καρίας δυναστεύουσα μετήλλαξεν ἄρξασα
ἔτη δύο, τὴν δὲ δυναστείαν Ἰδριεὺς ὁ ἀδελφὸς
8 διεδέξατο καὶ ἦρξεν ἔτη ἑπτά. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰτα-
λίαν Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς μὲν Πραινεστίνους ἀνοχάς,
πρὸς δὲ Σαμνίτας συνθήκας ἐποιήσαντο, Ταρκυ-
νίους δὲ ἄνδρας διακοσίους καὶ ἑξήκοντα δημοσίᾳ
9 ἐθανάτωσαν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Σικελίαν
Λεπτίνης καὶ Κάλλιππος οἱ Συρακόσιοι δύναμιν
ἔχοντες ἐξεπολιόρκησαν[1] Ῥήγιον φρουρούμενον ὑπὸ
Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου τοῦ νεωτέρου καὶ τὴν μὲν
φρουρὰν ἐξέβαλον, τοῖς δὲ Ῥηγίνοις τὴν αὐτονομίαν
ἀπεκατέστησαν.

46. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Ἀπολλοδώρου
Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκον Οὐαλέριον
καὶ Γάιον Σουλπίκιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων κατὰ τὴν
Κύπρον Σαλαμινίων πολιορκουμένων ὑπ' Εὐαγόρου
καὶ Φωκίωνος αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι πόλεις ἅπασαι τοῖς
Πέρσαις ὑπετάγησαν, τῆς δὲ Σαλαμῖνος βασιλεύων
2 Πνυταγόρας[2] μόνος ὑπέμεινε τὴν πολιορκίαν. ὁ δ'
Εὐαγόρας πατρῴαν ἀρχὴν τὴν Σαλαμινίων ἀν-
εκτᾶτο καὶ διὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Περσῶν τὴν κάθ-
οδον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐποιεῖτο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
διαβληθέντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην καὶ τοῦ βασι-
λέως βοηθοῦντος τῷ Πνυταγόρᾳ[2] ὁ μὲν Εὐαγόρας

[1] So Dindorf: ἐπολιόρκησαν (cp. chap. 33. 4).
[2] So Wesseling: Πρωταγόρας (Προ- P) (cp. Book 15. 4. 3, where Vogel restores Πνυτ- (MSS. Πυθ-)). Cp. also Curtius, 4. 3. 11; Arrian, *Alexander*, 2. 20. 6; Athenaeus, 4. 167 c.

ending, and the rest of the cities, panic-stricken, went over to the Persians. 351/0 B.C.

Shortly before this time Artemisia, who had held despotic rule over Caria, passed away after ruling two years, and Idrieus,[1] her brother, succeeded to the despotism and ruled seven years. In Italy the Romans made an armistice with the people of Praeneste, and a treaty with the Samnites, and they put to death two hundred sixty inhabitants of Tarquinii[2] at the hands of the public executioners in the Forum. In Sicily Leptines and Callippus, the Syracusans then in power, took by siege Rhegium,[3] which was garrisoned by the tyrant Dionysius the younger, ejected the garrison, and restored to the people of Rhegium their independence.

46. When Apollodorus was archon in Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Marcus Valerius and Gaius Sulpicius. During their term of office, in Cyprus, while the people of Salamis were being besieged by Evagoras[4] and Phocion, the rest of the cities all became subject to the Persians, and Pnytagoras,[5] the king of Salamis, alone continued to endure the siege. Now Evagoras was endeavouring to recover his ancestral rule over the Salaminians and through the help of the King of the Persians to be restored to his kingship. But later, when he had been falsely accused to Artaxerxes and the King was backing Pnytagoras, 350/49 B.C.

[1] See chap. 42. 6-7.
[2] Cp. Livy, 7. 19. 2-3, who gives 358 as the number executed.
[3] Demolished by the Elder Dionysius but restored by the Younger according to Strabo, 6. 1. 6.
[4] See chap. 42. 7-9.
[5] Grandson of Evagoras I and son of Pnytagoras.

ἀπογνοὺς τὴν κάθοδον καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων
ἀπολογησάμενος ἄλλης ἡγεμονίας ἠξιώθη κατὰ τὴν
3 Ἀσίαν μείζονος. κακῶς δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν
διοικήσας ἔφυγε πάλιν εἰς Κύπρον καὶ συλληφθεὶς
τιμωρίας ἠξιώθη. ὁ δὲ Πνυταγόρας[1] ἑκουσίως
ὑποταγεὶς τοῖς Πέρσαις τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδεῶς ἐβασίλευε
τῆς Σαλαμῖνος.
4 Ὁ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν
τῆς Σιδῶνος, παραγενομένων αὐτῷ τῶν συμμάχων
ἔκ τε Ἄργους καὶ Θηβῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν
Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ἀθροίσας πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν
5 προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον. καταντήσας δ' ἐπὶ
τὴν μεγάλην λίμνην καθ' ἣν ἔστι τὰ καλούμενα
Βάραθρα, μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπέβαλε διὰ τὴν
ἀπειρίαν τῶν τόπων. περὶ δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὴν λίμνην
φύσεως καὶ τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν παραδόξου συμπτώ-
ματος προειρηκότες ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ βύβλῳ τὸ διλογεῖν
6 περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν παρήσομεν. διελθὼν δὲ τὰ Βά-
ραθρα μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἧκεν πρὸς
τὸ Πηλούσιον. αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ πόλις ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου
στόματος καθ' ὃν τόπον ὁ Νεῖλος ποιεῖται τὰς
ἐκβολάς. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πέρσαι κατεστρατοπέδευσαν
ἀπὸ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων τοῦ Πηλουσίου, οἱ δ'
7 Ἕλληνες πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ πολίσματι. οἱ δ' Αἰγύ-
πτιοι, δεδωκότων αὐτοῖς τῶν Περσῶν πολὺν χρόνον
εἰς τὴν παρασκευήν, πάντα μὲν τὰ στόματα[2] τοῦ
Νείλου καλῶς κατεσκευακότες ὑπῆρχον, μάλιστα
δὲ τὸ πρὸς τῷ Πηλουσίῳ διὰ τὸ πρῶτον εἶναι τοῦτο
8 καὶ μάλιστα κείμενον εὐκαίρως. ἐφρούρουν δὲ τὸ
χωρίον στρατιῶται πεντακισχίλιοι, στρατηγοῦντος
Φιλόφρονος τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου.[3] οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι

[1] See note 2 on p. 364.

Evagoras, after having given up hope of his restoration and made his defence on the accusations brought against him, was accorded another and higher command in Asia. But then when he had misgoverned his province he fled again to Cyprus and, arrested there, paid the penalty. Pnytagoras, who had made willing submission to the Persians, continued thenceforth to rule unmolested as king in Salamis. 350/49 B.C.

After the capture of Sidon and the arrival of his allies from Argos and Thebes and the Greek cities in Asia, the King of the Persians assembled all his army and advanced against Egypt. As he came to the great marsh where are the Barathra or Pits, as they are called, he lost a portion of his army through his lack of knowledge of the region. Since we have discoursed earlier on the nature of the marsh [1] and the peculiar mishaps which occur there in the first Book of our History, we shall refrain from making a second statement about it. Having passed through the Barathra with his army the King came to Pelusium. This is a city at the first mouth at which the Nile debouches into the sea. Now the Persians encamped at a distance of forty stades from Pelusium, but the Greeks close to the town itself. The Egyptians, since the Persians had given them plenty of time for preparation, had already fortified well all the mouths of the Nile, particularly the one near Pelusium because it was the first and the most advantageously situated. Five thousand soldiers garrisoned the position, Philophron the Spartiate being the general in command.

[1] See Book 1. 30. 4-9 and Book 20. 73. 3.

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[2] πάντα μὲν τὰ ματα P, π. μ. τὰ πολίσματα X.
[3] So Hertlein, 2. 1, p. 24 : στρατηγοῦ.

σπεύδοντες ἄριστοι φανῆναι τῶν συστρατευομένων
Ἑλλήνων πρῶτοι καὶ μόνοι διά στενῆς τινος καὶ
βαθείας διώρυγος ἐτόλμησαν διαβῆναι παραβόλως.
9 διαβάντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ προσβαλλόντων τοῖς τεί-
χεσιν[1] οἱ φρουροῦντες τὸ Πηλούσιον ἐκχυθέντες ἐκ
τῆς πόλεως συνῆψαν μάχην πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους·
μεγάλου δ' ἀγῶνος γενομένου διὰ τὰς παρ' ἀμφο-
τέροις φιλοτιμίας τότε μὲν ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ διημε-
ρεύσαντες ὑπὸ τῆς νυκτὸς διελύθησαν.
47. Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς τρία μέρη
τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν μερίσαντος ἑκάστη μερὶς
εἶχε στρατηγὸν Ἕλληνα καὶ τούτῳ παρακαθεστα-
μένον ἡγεμόνα Πέρσην, ἄνδρα[2] προκεκριμένον ἐπ'
2 ἀρετῇ τε καὶ εὐνοίᾳ. τὴν μὲν οὖν πρώτην τάξιν
ἐπεῖχον οἱ Βοιωτοὶ στρατηγὸν μὲν ἔχοντες Λακρά-
την τὸν Θηβαῖον, ἡγεμόνα δὲ Πέρσην Ῥωσάκην·
οὗτος δὲ ἀπόγονος μὲν ἦν ἑνὸς[3] τῶν ἑπτὰ Περσῶν
τῶν τοὺς μάγους καταλυσάντων, σατράπης δὲ
Ἰωνίας καὶ Λυδίας· συνείπετο δ' αὐτῷ πολλὴ μὲν
ἵππος οὐκ ὀλίγη δὲ πεζικὴ στρατιὰ τῶν βαρβάρων.
3 δευτέρα δ' ἦν μερὶς ἡ τῶν Ἀργείων Νικοστράτου
στρατηγοῦντος καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ Πέρσου συνάρχοντος
Ἀρισταζάνου· οὗτος δ' ἦν εἰσαγγελεὺς τοῦ βασιλέως
καὶ πιστότατος τῶν φίλων μετὰ Βαγώαν· προσω-
ρίσθησαν δ' αὐτῷ στρατιῶται μὲν ἐπίλεκτοι πεντα-
4 κισχίλιοι, τριήρεις δὲ ὀγδοήκοντα. τῆς δὲ τρίτης
μερίδος ἐστρατήγει Μέντωρ ὁ τὴν Σιδῶνα παρα-

[1] καὶ προσβαλλόντων added by Fischer (cp. Book 15. 65. 4): αὐτῶν (τοῖς τείχεσιν PX) οἱ φρ.
[2] Πέρσην, ἄνδρα Capps: ἄνδρα Πέρσην.
[3] ἑνὸς added by Reiske (cp. Book 19. 40. 2).

The Thebans, being eager to show themselves the best of the Greeks that were taking part in the expedition, were the first to venture, unsupported and recklessly, to make a crossing through a narrow and deep canal. They had passed through it and were assaulting the walls when the garrison of Pelusium sallied forth from the city and engaged in battle with the Thebans. As the engagement proved severe because of the intense rivalry on both sides, they spent the whole of that day in the battle and were separated only by the night. 350/49 B.C.

47. Then on the next day, as the King divided the Greek army into three contingents, each contingent had a Greek general, and stationed along beside him a Persian officer, a man preferred above the others for valour and loyalty. Now the forward position was held by the Boeotians, who had as general the Theban Lacrates and as Persian officer Rhosaces. The latter was a descendant of one of the seven Persians who deposed the Magi[1]; he was satrap of Ionia and Lydia, and he was accompanied by a large force of cavalry and no small body of infantry composed of barbarians. Next in line was the Argive contingent of which Nicostratus was general and with him as Persian colleague Aristazanes. The latter was an usher[2] of the King and the most faithful of his friends after Bagoas; and assigned to him were five thousand élite soldiers and eighty triremes. Of the third contingent Mentor was general, he who had betrayed

[1] See the famous account in Herod. 3. 76-79.
[2] It was the duty of an usher to make announcements to the King, and introduce ambassadors of foreign nations and others who required an audience with the King. Only those seven who had slain the Magi were permitted to enter the royal presence ἄνευ εἰσαγγελέως (cp. Herod. 3. 84).

δούς, ἔχων τοὺς προϋπάρχοντας αὐτῷ μισθοφόρους· συνεστρατεύετο δ' αὐτῷ Βαγώας, ᾧ μάλιστα βασιλεὺς ἐνεπίστευε, τόλμῃ καὶ παρανομίᾳ διαφέρων· εἶχε δ' οὗτος τοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως Ἕλληνας καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἱκανὸν πλῆθος καὶ ναῦς οὐκ ὀλίγας.
5 αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν δύναμιν ἔχων ἐφήδρευε τοῖς ὅλοις πράγμασι. τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς[1] διαιρέσεως γενομένης παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις ὁ μὲν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς Νεκτανεβὼς οὔτε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων οὔτε τὴν ὅλην διάταξιν τῶν Περσῶν κατεπλάγη,
6 καίπερ πολὺ λειπόμενος τοῦ πλήθους. εἶχε γὰρ Ἕλληνας μὲν μισθοφόρους δισμυρίους, Λίβυας δὲ παραπλησίους τούτοις, Αἰγυπτίους δὲ τοὺς μαχίμους παρ' αὐτοῖς ὀνομαζομένους ἑξακισμυρίους, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πλοίων ποταμίων πρὸς τὰς κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον μάχας καὶ συμπλοκὰς εὐθέτων ἄπιστον
7 πλῆθος. ὠχύρωτο δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὴν Ἀραβίαν νεύουσα πλευρὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πεπυκνωμένη πολίσμασιν, ἔτι δὲ τείχεσι καὶ τάφροις πᾶσα διειλημμένη. ἔχων δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας παρασκευὰς πάσας πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἱκανάς, διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀβουλίαν ταχὺ τοῖς ὅλοις ἔπταισεν.

48. Αἰτία δ' ἐγένετο τῆς ἥττης μάλισθ' ἡ τοῦ στρατηγεῖν ἀπειρία καὶ τὸ προνενικῆσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν πρὸ ταύτης γεγενημένην
2 στρατείαν. ἐσχηκὼς γὰρ τοὺς τότε στρατηγοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρας καὶ διαφέροντας ἀρετῇ τε καὶ

[1] τῆς PX (cp. chap. 48. 3); other MSS. omit.

Sidon, having the mercenaries that were formerly under his command; and associated with him on the expedition was Bagoas, whom the King trusted most, a man exceptionally daring and impatient of propriety; and he had the King's Greeks and an ample force of barbarians and not a few ships. The King himself with the remainder of the army held himself in reserve for the whole operation.[1] Such being the distribution of the army on the Persian side, the king of the Egyptians, Nectanebôs, was dismayed neither by the multitude of the enemy nor by the general disposition of the Persian forces, though his numbers were far inferior. In fact he had twenty thousand Greek mercenaries, about the same number of Libyans, and sixty thousand Egyptians of the caste known amongst them as "The Warriors", and besides these an incredible number of river-boats suited for battles and engagements on the Nile. The bank of the river facing Arabia had been strongly fortified by him, being a region crowded with towns and, besides, all intersected by walls and ditches. Although he had ready also all the other preparations which were adequate for the war, yet because of his own poor judgement he soon met with complete disaster. 350/49 B.C.

48. The reason for his defeat was chiefly his lack of experience as a general and the fact that the Persians had been defeated by him in the previous expedition. For he had then had as his generals men who were distinguished and superior both in valour

[1] As an *ἔφεδρος*, the third pugilist or wrestler, who sat by to take on the winner; in this case as a reserve if the issue was at stake. Cp. chap. 48. 3 *ταῖς εὐκαιροτάταις τῶν εἰσβολῶν ἐφήδρευεν*.

ἀγχινοίᾳ στρατηγικῇ, Διόφαντον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον καὶ Λάμιον τὸν Σπαρτιάτην, διὰ τούτων ἅπαντα κατώρθωσε· τότε δ' ὑπολαμβάνων ἑαυτὸν ἱκανὸν εἶναι στρατηγὸν οὐδενὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας μετεδίδου καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν οὐδὲν ἠδύνατο πράττειν τῶν ἐν τῷ
3 πολέμῳ χρησίμων. τὰ μὲν οὖν πολίσματα φρουραῖς ἀξιολόγοις διαλαβὼν παρεφύλαττεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔχων τρισμυρίους, τῶν δ' Ἑλλήνων πεντακισχιλίους, τῶν δὲ Λιβύων τοὺς ἡμίσεις ταῖς εὐκαιροτάταις τῶν εἰσβολῶν ἐφήδρευεν. τοιαύτης δὲ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις οὔσης τῆς διατάξεως Νικόστρατος μὲν ὁ τῶν Ἀργείων στρατηγὸς ἔχων ἡγεμόνας Αἰγυπτίους ὧν ἦσαν ὅμηροι παῖδες παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις καὶ γυναῖκες, παρέπλευσε μετὰ τοῦ στόλου διά τινος διώρυγος εἰς τόπον κεκρυμμένον, ἐκβιβάσας δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ παρεμβολὴν
4 ὀχυρωσάμενος κατεστρατοπέδευσεν. οἱ δὲ τὸν πλησίον τόπον παραφυλάττοντες μισθοφόροι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὡς ᾔσθοντο τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παρουσίαν εὐθὺς ἐξεβοήθουν, ὄντες οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν ἑπτα-
5 κισχιλίων. ἔχων δ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Κλείνιος ὁ Κῷος συνέταξε τὴν δύναμιν εἰς μάχην. ἀντιταχθέντων δὲ τῶν καταπεπλευκότων ἐγένετο καρτερὰ μάχη καθ' ἣν οἱ μετὰ τῶν Περσῶν Ἕλληνες ἀγωνισάμενοι λαμπρῶς τόν τε στρατηγὸν Κλείνιον ἐφόνευσαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν κατέκοψαν
6 πλείους τῶν πεντακισχιλίων. Νεκτανεβὼς δ' ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἀπώλειαν κατεπλάγη, νομίσας καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν τῶν

and in sagacity in the art of war, Diophantus[1] the Athenian and Lamius the Spartan, and it was because of them that he had been victorious in all respects. At this time, however, since he supposed that he himself was a competent general, he would not share the command with anyone and so, because of his inexperience, was unable to execute any of the moves that would have been useful in this war. Now when he had provided the towns here and there with considerable garrisons, he maintained a strict guard there, and having in his own command thirty thousand Egyptians, five thousand Greeks, and half the Libyans, he held them in reserve to defend the most exposed approaches. Such being the disposition of the forces on both sides, Nicostratus, the general of the Argives, having as guides Egyptians whose children and wives were held as hostages by the Persians, sailed by with his fleet through a canal into a hidden district and, disembarking his men and fortifying a site for a camp, encamped there. The mercenaries of the Egyptians who were keeping a strict guard in the neighbourhood, observing the presence of the enemy, straightway made a sally in number not less than seven thousand. Cleinius the Coan, their commander, drew up his force in line of battle. And when those who had sailed in were drawn up opposite, a sharp battle ensued in the course of which the Greeks serving with the Persians, fighting brilliantly, slew the general Cleinius and cut down more than five thousand of the rest of the soldiers. Nectanebôs the Egyptian king, on hearing of the loss of his men, was terror-stricken, thinking that the rest of the Persian army 350/49 B.C.

[1] Cp. Isocrates, *Letters*, 8. 8. Diophantus was still absent from Athens at the time of this letter, 350 B.C.

Περσῶν δύναμιν ῥᾳδίως διαβήσεσθαι τὸν ποταμόν.
7 ὑπολαβὼν δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνά-
μεως ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἥξειν τὴν Μέμφιν ἔκρινε ταύτης
μάλιστα προνοήσασθαι. οὗτος μὲν οὖν μετὰ τῆς
περὶ αὐτὸν στρατιᾶς ἐπανελθὼν εἰς Μέμφιν τὰ
πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν παρεσκευάζετο.

49. Ὁ δὲ τῆς πρώτης[1] μερίδος ἀφηγούμενος
Λακράτης ὁ Θηβαῖος ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Πηλουσίου πο-
λιορκίαν ὥρμησεν· ἀποστρέψας δὲ τῆς διώρυγος
τὸ ῥεῦμα πρὸς ἕτερα μέρη καὶ τὸν ἀναξηρανθέντα
τόπον χώσας μηχανὰς προσήγαγε τῇ πόλει. ἐπὶ
πολὺ δὲ μέρος πεσόντων τῶν τειχῶν οἱ τὸ Πηλού-
σιον φρουροῦντες ὀξέως ἀντῳκοδόμησαν ἕτερα καὶ
2 πύργους ξυλίνους ἀξιολόγους ἀνέστησαν. ἐπὶ δέ
τινας ἡμέρας συνεχοῦς γινομένης τῆς τειχομαχίας
τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ κατὰ τὸ Πηλούσιον Ἕλληνες
ἐρρωμένως ἠμύνοντο τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας· ὡς δ'
ἐπύθοντο τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναχώρησιν εἰς Μέμφιν
3 καταπλαγέντες περὶ διαλύσεων ἐπρεσβεύοντο. τοῦ
δὲ Λακράτους δόντος αὐτοῖς διὰ τῶν ὅρκων πίστεις
ὅτι παραδόντων αὐτῶν τὸ Πηλούσιον ἀποκομισθή-
σονται πάντες εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μεθ' ὧν ἂν ἐξ-
4 ενέγκωσι, παρέδωκαν τὸ φρούριον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
ὁ μὲν Ἀρταξέρξης ἀπέστειλε Βαγώαν μετὰ στρα-
τιωτῶν βαρβάρων παραληψόμενον τὸ Πηλούσιον,
οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται παριόντες εἰς τὸ χωρίον τῶν
ἐξιόντων Ἑλλήνων ἀφῃροῦντο πολλὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐ-
5 τῶν ἐκκομιζομένων. ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν ἀδι-
κουμένων καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἐπόπτας τῶν ὅρκων
ἐπιβοωμένων παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Λακράτης τροπὴν
ἐποίησε τῶν βαρβάρων καί τινας καταβαλὼν ἐπ-

[1] So most MSS., supported by chap. 47. 2 : δευτέρας PX.

also would easily cross the river. Assuming that the enemy with their entire army would come to the very gates of Memphis, he decided first and foremost to take precautionary measures to protect the city. Accordingly he returned to Memphis with the army he had retained and began to prepare for the siege. 350/49 B.C.

49. Lacrates the Theban, who was in command of the first contingent, hastened to begin the siege of Pelusium. First he diverted the stream of the canal to other directions, then when the channel had become dry he filled it with earth and brought siege engines against the city. When a large portion of the walls fell, the garrison in Pelusium quickly built others to oppose the advance and reared huge towers of wood. The battle for the walls continued for several days running and at first the Greeks in Pelusium vigorously warded off the besiegers ; but when they learned of the king's withdrawal to Memphis they were so terror-stricken that they sent envoys to arrange for a settlement. Since Lacrates gave them pledges backed by oaths to the effect that if they surrendered Pelusium they would all be conveyed back to Greece with whatever they could carry on their backs, they delivered over the citadel. After this Artaxerxes dispatched Bagoas with barbarian soldiers to take over Pelusium, and the soldiers, arriving at the place as the Greeks were issuing forth, seized upon many of the articles they were carrying out. The victims of this injustice in their anger called loudly upon the gods who were guardians of their oaths, whereupon Lacrates became incensed, put the barbarians to flight, slaying a number of them, thus

6 ἐκούρησε τοῖς παρασπονδουμένοις. τοῦ δὲ Βαγώου φυγόντος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ κατηγοροῦντος τοῦ Λακράτους ὁ Ἀρταξέρξης ἔκρινε δίκαια πεπονθέναι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Βαγώαν καὶ τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἁρπαγῆς ἀπέκτεινεν. τὸ μὲν οὖν Πηλούσιον τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον παρεδόθη τοῖς Πέρσαις.

7 Μέντωρ δὲ ὁ τοῦ τρίτου μέρους ἡγούμενος Βούβαστον καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας πόλεις χειρωσάμενος ὑπηκόους ἐποίησε τῷ βασιλεῖ δι' ἑνὸς στρατηγήματος. πασῶν γὰρ τῶν πόλεων φρουρουμένων ὑπὸ δυεῖν ἐθνῶν, Ἑλλήνων[1] τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων, ὁ Μέντωρ διέδωκε λόγον εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας ὅτι βασιλεὺς Ἀρταξέρξης τοῖς μὲν ἑκουσίως παραδιδοῦσι τὰς πόλεις φιλανθρώπως χρήσασθαι διέγνωκε, τοῖς δὲ βίᾳ κρατηθεῖσι τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπονέμειν τιμωρίαν ἥνπερ τοῖς Σιδωνίοις ἐπέστησε· καὶ τοῖς φυλάττουσι τὰς πύλας παρήγγειλεν ἐὰν τοὺς βουλομένους
8 παρ' αὐτῶν αὐτομολεῖν. διόπερ ἀκωλύτως τῶν ἡλωκότων Αἰγυπτίων ἀπιόντων ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ταχέως εἰς ἁπάσας τὰς κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον πόλεις ὁ λόγος ὁ προειρημένος διεσπάρη. εὐθὺς οὖν οἱ μισθοφόροι πρὸς τοὺς ἐγχωρίους πανταχῇ διεφέροντο καὶ στάσεως αἱ πόλεις ἐπληροῦντο. ἑκάτεροι γὰρ ἰδίᾳ διεφιλοτιμοῦντο παραδιδόναι τὰ φρούρια καὶ τῆς χάριτος ταύτης ἰδίας ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίδας ἠλλάττοντο[2]· ὅπερ καὶ περὶ πρώτην τὴν Βούβαστον συνέβη γενέσθαι.

50. Ὡς γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὸν Μέντορα καὶ Βαγώαν πλησίον αὐτῆς κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, οἱ μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι λάθρᾳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξέπεμψάν τινα πρὸς

[1] So Reiske: Ἑλληνικῶν.
[2] So Stephanus: ἐλπίδος ἠλαττοῦντο.

standing by the Greeks, the sufferers from the broken pledges. But when Bagoas fled to the King and brought accusation against Lacrates, Artaxerxes decided that Bagoas' contingent had met with their just deserts and put to death the Persians who were responsible for the robbery. So it was in this fashion that Pelusium was delivered over to the Persians. 350/49 B.C.

Mentor, who was in command of the third contingent, captured Bubastus and many other cities and made them subject to the King by a single strategic device. For since all the cities were garrisoned by two peoples, Greeks and Egyptians, Mentor passed the word around to the soldiers that King Artaxerxes had decided to treat magnanimously those who voluntarily surrendered their cities, but to mete out the same penalty to those who were overcome by force as he had imposed on the people of Sidon; and he instructed those who guarded the gates to give free passage to any who wished to desert from the other side. Accordingly, since the captured Egyptians were leaving the barracks without hindrance, the aforementioned word was quickly scattered amongst all the cities of Egypt. Immediately, therefore, the mercenaries were everywhere at variance with the natives and the cities were filled with strife; for each side was privately endeavouring to surrender its posts and nursing private hopes of gain in exchange for this favour; and this is what actually happened in the case of the city of Bubastus first.

50. When, namely, the forces of Mentor and Bagoas were encamped near Bubastus, the Egyptians, without the knowledge of the Greeks, sent an envoy

τὸν Βαγώαν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι παραδώσειν τὴν πό-
2 λιν ἐὰν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν συγχωρήσωσιν. οἱ
δ' Ἕλληνες αἰσθόμενοι τὸ γεγονὸς κατεδίωξαν τὸν
ἀπεσταλμένον καὶ φόβον ἐπικρεμάσαντες ἤκουσαν
τὴν ἀλήθειαν· ἐφ' οἷς παροξυνθέντες ἐπέθεντο τοῖς
Αἰγυπτίοις καί τινας μὲν ἀπέκτειναν τινὰς δὲ
τραυματίας ποιήσαντες τοὺς λοιποὺς συνήλασαν εἴς
3 τι μέρος τῆς πόλεως. οἱ δ' ἡττηθέντες δηλώσαντες
τῷ Βαγώᾳ τὸ γεγονὸς ἠξίουν κατὰ τάχος ἐλθόντα
παραλαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν παρ' αὐτῶν. τῶν δὲ Ἑλλή-
νων πρὸς τὸν Μέντορα λάθρᾳ διακηρυκευσαμένων
ὁ Μέντωρ ἐν ἀπορρήτοις παρεκάλεσεν αὐτούς, ὅταν
Βαγώας εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσέλθῃ, τὴν ἐπίθεσιν τοῖς
4 βαρβάροις ποιήσασθαι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Βαγώου
μετὰ τῶν Περσῶν εἰσιόντος ἄνευ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων
συγκαταθέσεως καὶ μέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰσ-
εληλυθότος οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἄφνω τὰς θύρας κλεί-
σαντες ἐπέθεντο τοῖς ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν ὑπάρχουσι
καὶ πάντας ἀνελόντες τὸν Βαγώαν αὐτὸν ἐζώ-
5 γρησαν. ὁ δὲ τὰς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδας ὁρῶν ἐν
τῷ Μέντορι κειμένας ἐδεήθη σῶσαι καὶ εἰς τὸ
λοιπὸν κατεπηγγείλατο μηθὲν πράξειν ἄνευ τῆς
6 ἐκείνου γνώμης. ὁ δὲ Μέντωρ πείσας τοὺς Ἕλ-
ληνας ἀφεῖναι τὸν Βαγώαν καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ γενέσθαι
τὴν παράδοσιν τὴν μὲν ἐπιγραφὴν[1] τοῦ προτερή-
ματος αὐτὸς ἀπηνέγκατο, τῷ δὲ Βαγώᾳ τῆς σω-
τηρίας αἴτιος γενόμενος συνέθετο πρὸς αὐτὸν
κοινοπραγίαν καὶ δοὺς ὅρκους καὶ λαβὼν περὶ
τούτων διετέλεσε τὴν σύνθεσιν φυλάττων μέχρι τῆς
7 τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς. διὸ καὶ συνέβη τούτους παρὰ
βασιλεῖ συμφρονοῦντας ὕστερον πλεῖστον ἰσχῦσαι
τῶν φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν τῶν παρ' Ἀρταξέρξῃ· ὁ

to Bagoas offering to deliver the city if he would consent to their safety. The Greeks, having knowledge of the mission, overtook the envoy and by dire threats extracted the truth, whereat they were much enraged and attacked the Egyptians, slew some, wounded others, and herded the rest into a quarter of the city. The discomfited men, having notified Bagoas of what had taken place, asked him to come with all speed and receive the city from themselves. But the Greeks had been privately treating with Mentor, who gave them secret encouragement, as soon as Bagoas should enter Bubastus, to attack the barbarians. Later on, when Bagoas with the Persians was entering the city without the sanction of the Greeks and a portion of his men had got inside, the Greeks suddenly closed the gates and attacked those who were inside the walls, and, having slain all the men, took Bagoas himself prisoner. The latter, seeing that his hopes of safety lay in Mentor, besought him to spare his life and promised in future to do nothing without his advice. Mentor, who now prevailed upon the Greeks to set Bagoas free and to arrange the surrender through himself, won credit himself for his success, but, having become responsible for Bagoas' life, he made an agreement with him for common action, and after an exchange of pledges on this matter kept the agreement faithfully till the end of his life. The result of this was that these two by their co-operation in the service of the King attained later on to the greatest power of all the friends and relatives 350/49 B.C.

[1] So Stephanus: ἀναγραφήν.

μὲν γὰρ Μέντωρ ἐν τοῖς παραθαλαττίοις μέρεσι
τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγεμὼν μέγιστος ἀποδειχθεὶς τῷ
βασιλεῖ μεγάλας παρείχετο χρείας ἐκ μὲν τῆς
Ἑλλάδος μισθοφόρους ἀθροίζων καὶ πέμπων πρὸς
Ἀρταξέρξην, κατὰ δὲ τὰς πράξεις ἀνδρείως καὶ
8 πιστῶς ἅπαντα[1] διοικῶν· ὁ δὲ Βαγώας ἐν ταῖς ἄνω
σατραπείαις ἅπαντα τῷ βασιλεῖ διῳκηκὼς[1] τοσοῦ-
τον ἴσχυσε διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Μέντορα κοινωνίαν
τῶν πράξεων ὥστε τῆς βασιλείας κύριον εἶναι καὶ
μηδὲν πράττειν τὸν Ἀρταξέρξην ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείνου
γνώμης. καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν τοὺς δια-
δόχους αἰεὶ τῆς βασιλείας οὗτος ἀπεδείκνυτο καὶ
πάντα βασιλέως εἶχε πλὴν τῆς προσηγορίας. ἀλλὰ
περὶ μὲν τούτων τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις
χρόνοις ἀναγράψομεν.

51. Τότε δὲ μετὰ τὴν τῆς Βουβάστου παράδοσιν
αἱ λοιπαὶ πόλεις καταπλαγεῖσαι καθ' ὁμολογίαν παρ-
εδόθησαν τοῖς Πέρσαις. ἐν δὲ τῇ Μέμφει δια-
τρίβων ὁ βασιλεὺς Νεκτανεβὼς καὶ θεωρῶν τὴν
τῶν πόλεων ἐπὶ τὴν προδοσίαν[2] ὁρμὴν οὐκ ἐτόλμη-
σεν ὑποστῆναι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας κινδύνους.
ἀπογνοὺς οὖν τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν
χρημάτων ἀναλαβὼν ἔφυγεν εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν.
2 Ἀρταξέρξης δὲ παραλαβὼν πᾶσαν τὴν Αἴγυπτον
καὶ τῶν ἀξιολογωτάτων πόλεων τὰ τείχη περιελὼν
τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ συλήσας ἤθροισεν ἀργύρου τε καὶ
χρυσοῦ πλῆθος, ἀπήνεγκε δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν
ἀρχαίων ἱερῶν ἀναγραφάς, ἃς ὕστερον Βαγώας

[1] So Stephanus: *ἅπαντα διῳκηκὼς τῷ βασιλεῖ τοσοῦτον*

at Artaxerxes' court. In fact Mentor, having been appointed to the chief command in the coastal districts of Asia, performed great services to the King in gathering mercenaries from Greece and sending them to Artaxerxes, and in the course of his activities administering all his duties courageously and loyally. As for Bagoas, after he had administered all the King's affairs in the upper satrapies,[1] he rose to such power because of his partnership with Mentor that he was master of the kingdom, and Artaxerxes did nothing without his advice. And after Artaxerxes' death he designated in every case the successor to the throne and enjoyed all the functions of kingship save the title. But of these matters we shall record the details in their proper chronological sequence. 350/49 B.C.

51. At the time under consideration, after the surrender of Bubastus, the remaining cities, terror-stricken, were delivered to the Persians by capitulation. But King Nectanebôs, while still tarrying in Memphis and perceiving the trend of the cities toward betrayal, did not dare risk battles for his dominion. So giving up hope of his kingship and taking with him the greater part of his possessions, he fled into Aethiopia. Artaxerxes, after taking over all Egypt and demolishing the walls of the most important cities, by plundering the shrines gathered a vast quantity of silver and gold, and he carried off the inscribed records from the ancient temples, which later on

[1] In the interior. Bagoas was commander of the King's bodyguard. He arranged the succession by the use of poison (cp. Book 17. 5. 3-4) and was himself its victim.

ἴσχυσεν PX by haplography (*ὁ Βαγώας* superscribed X); RF interchange *διοικῶν* and *διῳκηκώς*.

[2] *ἐπὶ τὴν προδοσίαν* supplied by Fischer (cp. chap. 54. 2).

πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀπελύτρωσε[1] τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τῶν
3 Αἰγυπτίων. τοὺς δὲ συστρατευσαμένους τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἕκαστον δωρεαῖς ἀξιολόγοις τιμήσας ἀπέλυσεν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας· τῆς δ' Αἰγύπτου σατράπην καταστήσας Φερενδάτην ἐπανῆλθεν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Βαβυλῶνα πολλὰ μὲν χρήματα καὶ λάφυρα κομίζων δόξαν δὲ μεγάλην ἐκ τῶν κατορθωμάτων περιπεποιημένος.

52. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Καλλιμάχου Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκιον[2] Γάιον καὶ Πόπλιον Οὐαλέριον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀρταξέρξης ὁρῶν μεγάλας ἑαυτῷ παρεσχημένον χρείας ἐν τῷ πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους πολέμῳ Μέντορα τὸν στρατηγὸν
2 προῆγεν αὐτὸν μάλιστα τῶν φίλων. τιμήσας δ' ἀριστείοις τὸν ἄνδρα ἐδωρήσατο αὐτῷ ἀργυρίου μὲν ἑκατὸν τάλαντα τῆς δ' ἄλλης πολυτελοῦς κατασκευῆς τὴν κρατίστην· ἀπέδειξε δὲ σατράπην τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν παραλίας καὶ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας πόλεμον ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτοκράτορα στρα-
3 τηγὸν ἀποδείξας. ὁ δὲ Μέντωρ ἔχων οἰκειότητα πρὸς Ἀρτάβαζον καὶ Μέμνονα τοὺς διαπεπολεμηκότας μὲν πρὸς Πέρσας ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω χρόνοις τότε δὲ πεφευγότας ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ διατρίβοντας παρὰ Φιλίππῳ, δεηθεὶς τοῦ βασιλέως ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν ἀπολῦσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας τῶν ἐγκλημάτων. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ μετεπέμψατο πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀμφοτέρους μεθ'

[1] So Stephanus: ἀπελύτρωσε F, ἀνελύτρωσε (-σαι P) *cet.*

Bagoas returned to the Egyptian priests on the payment of huge sums by way of ransom. Then when he had rewarded the Greeks who had accompanied him on the campaign with lavish gifts, each according to his deserts, he dismissed them to their native lands; and, having installed Pherendates as satrap of Egypt, he returned with his army to Babylon, bearing many possessions and spoils and having won great renown by his successes. 350/49 B.C.

52. When Callimachus was archon at Athens, the Romans elected as consuls Gaius Marcius and Publius Valerius. During their term of office Artaxerxes, seeing that Mentor the general had performed great services for him in the war against the Egyptians, advanced him over and above his other friends. Esteeming him worthy of honour for his gallant actions, he gave him a hundred talents of silver and also the best of expensive decorations, and he appointed him satrap of the Asiatic coast and placed him in charge of the war against the rebels, having designated him general in supreme command. And since Mentor was related [1] to Artabazus and Memnon, both of whom had warred against the Persians in the preceding period [2] and at the time now under consideration were fugitives from Asia residing at the court of Philip, he requested the King and prevailed upon him to dismiss the charges against them. Immediately afterwards he also summoned them both to come to his presence 349/8 B.C.

[1] Artabazus was his brother-in-law, Memnon his brother (see below). (Cp. Demosthenes, 23. 157: ὁ Μέμνων καὶ ὁ Μέντωρ, οἱ κηδεσταὶ τοῦ Ἀρταβάζου).
[2] See chaps. 22. 1 and 34. 2.

[2] *C. Martius Rutilius* Livy, 7. 21; *Fasti Consulares*; chap. 28. 1: Μάρκον.

4 ὅλης τῆς συγγενείας· ἦσαν γὰρ Ἀρταβάζῳ γεγονότες ἐκ τῆς Μέντορος καὶ Μέμνονος ἀδελφῆς υἱοὶ μὲν ἕνδεκα, θυγατέρες δὲ δέκα. ψυχαγωγούμενος δ' ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν τέκνων ὁ Μέντωρ προῆγε τοὺς παῖδας, παραδιδοὺς αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας
5 ἐν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς[1] ἡγεμονίας. ἐστρατεύσατο δ' ἐπὶ πρῶτον Ἑρμίαν[2] τὸν Ἀταρνέως τύραννον, ἀφεστηκότα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ πολλῶν ὀχυρωμάτων
6 καὶ πόλεων κυριεύοντα. ἐπαγγειλάμενος δ' αὐτῷ πείσειν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ[3] αὐτὸν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπολῦσαι συνῆλθεν εἰς λόγους καὶ παρακρουσάμενος αὐτὸν συνέλαβε. κυριεύσας δὲ τοῦ δακτυλίου καὶ γράψας εἰς τὰς πόλεις ὅτι διήλλακται τῷ βασιλεῖ διὰ Μέντορος καὶ σφραγισάμενος τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τῷ τοῦ Ἑρμίου[2] δακτυλίῳ συνεξέπεμψε
7 τοὺς παραληψομένους τὰ χωρία. οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι πιστεύσαντες τοῖς γεγραμμένοις καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀγαπητῶς προσδεξάμενοι παρέδωκαν πάντες τὰ φρούρια καὶ τὰς πόλεις. Μέντωρ μὲν οὖν δι' ἀπάτης ταχὺ παραλαβὼν ἀκινδύνως τὰ τῶν ἀποστατῶν πολίσματα μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἔτυχε παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ, δόξας δύνασθαι στρατηγεῖν πραγμα-
8 τικῶς. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας τοὺς

[1] So Fischer (cp. Xenophon, *Respub. Lac.* 12. 7): στρατιώταις.

[2] Capps: Ἑρμείαν. Cp. Harpocration: Ἑρμίας; Suidas: Ἑρμίας; Dittenberger³, 1, 229.

[3] καὶ αὐτὸν Sherman (cp. § 3): καί. (See note in Wesseling).

with all their families; for there had been born to Artabazus by the sister of Mentor and Memnon eleven sons and ten daughters.[1] And Mentor was so enchanted with the large number of children born to the marriage that he promoted the lads, giving them the most distinguished commands in the armed forces. He made his first campaign against Hermias[2] the tyrant of Atarneus, who had revolted from the King and was master of many fortresses and cities. Having promised Hermias that he would prevail upon the King to dismiss the charges against him too, he met him at a conference and then, playing him false, arrested him. After getting possession of his signet-ring and writing to the cities that a reconciliation had been effected with the King through Mentor's intervention, he sealed the letters with Hermias' ring, and sent the letters and with them agents who were to take over the districts. The populations of the cities, trusting the documents and being quite content to accept the peace, all surrendered their fortresses and cities. Now that Mentor through deception had quickly and without risk recovered the towns of the rebels, he won great favour with the King, who concluded that he was capable of performing the duties of general realistically. Similarly with regard to the other commanders 349/8 B.C.

[1] Some of their names are known (see P.-W. *Realencyclopädie*, *s.v.* "Artabazus," 3).

[2] A philosopher, eunuch, and slave of Eubulus. Aristotle, who knew him through the Academy (cp. Plato, *Epistle* 6), lived with him, and after his death married his adopted daughter Pythias. The events of this chapter concerning the arrest of Hermias certainly occurred at a later date, since Aristotle is reported (Dionysius, *Epist. ad Ammaeum*, ch. 5) to have spent three years at the court of Hermias after the death of Plato. Tarn gives the date of Hermias' arrest as 342 (*Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 23).

ἀλλοτρίως διακειμένους τοῖς Πέρσαις τοὺς μὲν
βιασάμενος, τοὺς δὲ καταστρατηγήσας ἅπαντας
ταχέως κατεπολέμησεν.
Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.
9 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην Φίλιππος μὲν ὁ Μακεδό-
νων βασιλεὺς στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὰς Χαλκιδικὰς πόλεις
Ζερεία[1] μὲν φρούριον ἐκπολιορκήσας κατέσκαψε,
τῶν δ' ἄλλων πολισμάτων ἔνια καταπληξάμενος
ἠνάγκασεν ὑποτάττεσθαι· ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς Φερὰς τῆς
Θετταλίας παρελθὼν Πειθόλαον δυναστεύοντα τῆς
10 πόλεως ἐξέβαλεν. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις
ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ Σπάρτακος ὁ τοῦ Πόντου βασιλεὺς
ἐτελεύτησεν ἄρξας ἔτη πέντε, τὴν δ' ἡγεμονίαν
διαδεξάμενος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Παιρισάδης[2] ἐβασίλευσεν
ἔτη τριάκοντα ὀκτώ.
53. Τοῦ δ' ἔτους τούτου διελθόντος Ἀθήνησι μὲν
ἦρχε Θεόφιλος, ἐν Ῥώμῃ δὲ κατεστάθησαν ὕπατοι
Γάιος Σουλπίκιος καὶ Γάιος Κοΐντιος, ὀλυμπιὰς δ'
ἤχθη ὀγδόη πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον
2 Πολυκλῆς Κυρηναῖος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Φίλιππος
μὲν σπεύδων τὰς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεις χειρώ-
σασθαι Μηκύβερναν μὲν καὶ Τορώνην χωρὶς κινδύ-
νων διὰ προδοσίας παρέλαβεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν μεγίστην
τῶν περὶ τοὺς τόπους τούτους πόλεων Ὄλυνθον
στρατεύσας μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
νικήσας τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους δυσὶ μάχαις συνέκλεισεν
εἰς πολιορκίαν, προσβολὰς δὲ συνεχεῖς ποιούμενος
πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπέβαλεν ἐν ταῖς τειχο-

[1] Ζερεία Merritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, 1. 488. 2, 603 : Γεῖραν RV, Γείραν FM, Ζειρα P, Ζειρὰ X. Fischer suggests Στάγειραν.

[2] The proper form (cp. Latyschew, *Insc. Ant. Orae Sept. Ponti Eux.* p. xxiii a 5) : Παρυσάδης.

who were at odds with the Persians, whether by force 349/8 B.C.
or by stratagem, he soon subdued them all.

And this was the state of affairs in Asia.

In Europe Philip, the Macedonian king, marched against the cities of Chalcidicê, took the fortress of Zereia [1] by siege and razed it. He then intimidated some of the other towns and compelled them to submit. Then coming against Pherae in Thessaly he expelled Peitholaüs,[2] who was in control of the city. While these things were going on, there occurred in Pontus the death of Spartacus king of Pontus after a rule of five years. His brother Paerisades [3] succeeded to the throne and reigned for thirty-eight years.

53. When this year had elapsed, at Athens Theo- 348/7 B.C.
philus was archon, and at Rome Gaius Sulpicius and Gaius Quintius were elected as consuls, and the one hundred eighth celebration of the Olympian games was held at which Polycles of Cyrenê won the stadion race. During their term of office Philip, whose aim was to subdue the cities on the Hellespont, acquired without a battle Mecyberna [4] and Toronê [5] by treasonable surrender, and then, having taken the field with a large army against the most important of the cities in this region, Olynthus, he first defeated the Olynthians in two battles and confined them to the defence of their walls ; then in the continuous assaults that he made he lost many of his men in encounters at the walls,

[1] Cp. Demosthenes, 19. 266 and Philochorus, fr. 132.

[2] Inconsistent with chaps. 37, 38 unless Peitholaüs had recovered Pherae in the meantime.

[3] For his death see Book 20. 22. 1.

[4] Mecyberna was the port of Olynthus, taken by Olynthus from Athens (cp. Book 12. 77. 5).

[5] Toronê was probably subject to Olynthus (cp. Book 15. 81. 6).

μαχίαις· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον φθείρας χρήμασι τοὺς προεστηκότας τῶν Ὀλυνθίων, Εὐθυκράτην τε καὶ Λασθένην, διὰ τούτων προδοθεῖσαν τὴν Ὄλυνθον
3 εἷλεν. διαρπάσας δ' αὐτὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐξανδραποδισάμενος ἐλαφυροπώλησε. τοῦτο δὲ πράξας χρημάτων τε πολλῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον εὐπόρησε καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις τὰς ἐναντιουμένας κατεπλήξατο. τοὺς δὲ ἀνδραγαθήσαντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἀξίαις δωρεαῖς τιμήσας καὶ χρημάτων πλῆθος διαδοὺς τοῖς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἰσχύουσι πολλοὺς ἔσχε προδότας τῶν πατρίδων. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπεφαίνετο διὰ χρυσίου πολὺ[1] μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τῶν ὅπλων ηὐξηκέναι τὴν ἰδίαν βασιλείαν.

54. Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν αὔξησιν ὑφορώμενοι τοῦ Φιλίππου τοῖς ἀεὶ πολεμουμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐβοήθουν, πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλοντες ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ παρακαλοῦντες τηρεῖν τὴν αὐτονομίαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν προδοσίαν ὁρμῶντας τῶν πολιτῶν θανάτῳ κολάζειν· ἐπηγγέλλοντο δὲ πᾶσι συμμαχήσειν καὶ φανερῶς ἑαυτοὺς πολεμίους ἀποδείξαντες τῷ βασι-
2 λεῖ διεπολέμουν πρὸς Φίλιππον. μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς παρώξυνε προστῆναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος Δημοσθένης ὁ ῥήτωρ, δεινότατος ὢν τῶν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους Ἑλλήνων. οὐ μὴν ἡ πόλις γε ἀναστεῖλαι τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν προδοσίαν ὁρμῆς ἠδυνήθη τοὺς πολίτας·

[1] So Wesseling: πολλοῦ R, πολλοὺς PXF; πολλῷ *conj.* Rhodoman.

[1] Euthycrates and Lasthenes became the stock examples of fifth columnists (see Demosthenes, 8. 40; 19. 265, 342; also, on Olynthus, Philochorus, fr. 132; Suidas, *s.v.* Κάρανος; Demosthenes, 9. 56-66; and Pickard-Cambridge, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 228-233).

but finally bribed the chief officials of the Olynthians, 348/7 B.C.
Euthycrates and Lasthenes,[1] and captured Olynthus through their treachery. After plundering it and enslaving the inhabitants he sold both men and property as booty. By so doing he procured large sums for prosecuting the war and intimidated the other cities that were opposed to him. Having rewarded with appropriate gifts such soldiers as had behaved gallantly in the battle and distributed a sum of money to men of influence in the cities, he gained many tools ready to betray their countries. Indeed he was wont to declare that it was far more by the use of gold than of arms that he had enlarged his kingdom.

54. Since the Athenians viewed with alarm the rising power of Philip, they came to the assistance of any people[2] who were attacked by the king, by sending envoys to the cities and urging them to watch over their independence and punish with death those citizens who were bent on treason, and they promised them all that they would fight as their allies, and, after publicly declaring themselves the king's enemies, engaged in an out-and-out war against Philip. The man who more than any other spurred them on to take up the cause of Hellas was the orator Demosthenes, the most eloquent of the Greeks of those times. Even his city was, however, unable to restrain its citizens from their urge toward treason, such was the crop,[3]

[2] For instances see Philochorus, *l.c.*

[3] See Demosthenes, 18. 61: "In all the Greek states—not in some of them but in every one of them—it chanced that there had sprung up the most abundant crop of traitorous, venal, and profligate politicians ever known within the memory of mankind." (Vince & Vince, *L.C.L.*)

τοιαύτη γὰρ φορά τις προδοτῶν ὑπῆρξε τότε κατὰ
3 τὴν Ἑλλάδα. διὸ καί φασι τὸν Φίλιππον βουλόμενον ἑλεῖν τινα πόλιν ὀχυρότητι διαφέρουσαν, εἰπόντος τινὸς αὐτῷ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀνάλωτον αὐτὴν ἐκ βίας ὑπάρχειν, ἐπερωτῆσαι εἰ οὐδ' ὁ
4 χρυσὸς τὸ τεῖχος ὑπερβῆναι δυνατός ἐστιν. ἦν γὰρ πεῖραν εἰληφὼς ὅτι τὰ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀδύνατα χειρωθῆναι τῷ χρυσῷ ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι καταπολεμῆσαι. ἐγκατασκευάζων οὖν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι προδότας διὰ τῆς δωροδοκίας καὶ τοὺς δεχομένους τὸ χρυσίον ξένους καὶ φίλους ὀνομάζων ταῖς πονηραῖς ὁμιλίαις διέφθειρε τὰ ἤθη τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

55. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Ὀλύνθου Ὀλύμπια ποιήσας τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπινίκια μεγαλοπρεπεῖς θυσίας συνετέλεσεν· πανήγυριν δὲ μεγάλην συστησάμενος καὶ λαμπροὺς ἀγῶνας ποιήσας πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπιδημούντων ξένων ἐπὶ τὰς ἑστιάσεις παρελάμβανε.
2 παρὰ δὲ τοὺς πότους πολλαῖς ὁμιλίαις χρώμενος καὶ πολλοῖς μὲν ποτήρια διδοὺς κατὰ τὰς προπόσεις, οὐκ ὀλίγοις δὲ δωρεὰς ἀπονέμων, πᾶσι δὲ μεγάλας ἐπαγγελίας εὐχαρίστως[1] ποιούμενος πολλοὺς ἔσχεν ἐπιθυμητὰς τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίας.
3 Καὶ δήποτ' ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ κατανοήσας Σάτυρον τὸν ὑποκριτὴν σκυθρωπὸν ὄντ'[2] ἤρετο διὰ τί μόνος

[1] So Meineke; εὐχερῶς Herwerden: εὐχρήστως.
[2] ὄντ' added by Herwerden.

[1] See Horace on the power of gold: "diffidit urbium Portas vir Macedo et subruit aemulos Reges muneribus" (*Odes*, 3. 16. 13 ff.).

[2] Cp. φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρήσθ' ὁμιλίαι κακαί (Euripides, fr. 1013, Menander, *Thaïs*, fr. 218 Kock and 1 Corinthians 15. 33).

as it were, of traitors that had sprung up at that time 348/7 B.C.
throughout Hellas. Hence the anecdote that when Philip wished to take a certain city with unusually strong fortifications and one of the inhabitants remarked that it was impregnable, he asked if even gold could not scale its walls.[1] For he had learned from experience that what could not be subdued by force of arms could easily be vanquished by gold. So, organizing bands of traitors in the several cities by means of bribes and calling those who accepted his gold "guests" and "friends," by his evil communications he corrupted the morals of the people.[2]

55. After the capture of Olynthus, he celebrated the Olympian festival[3] to the gods in commemoration of his victory, and offered magnificent sacrifices; and he organized a great festive assembly at which he held splendid competitions and thereafter invited many of the visiting strangers to his banquets. In the course of the carousals he joined in numerous conversations, presenting to many guests drinking cups[4] as he proposed the toasts, awarding gifts to a considerable number, and graciously making such handsome promises to them all that he won over a large number to crave friendship with him.

At one time in the course of the drinking bout, noticing Satyrus,[5] the actor, with a gloomy look on his face, Philip asked him why he alone disdained to

[3] The Macedonian Olympia celebrated at Dium. See D. M. Robinson, *TAPA* (1934), 117: ἐς [τὸ] ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τ[οῦ] Ὀλυμπίου, and note.

[4] Cp. Demosthenes, 19. 139: καὶ τελευτῶν ἐκπώματ' ἀργυρᾶ καὶ χρυσᾶ προὔπινεν αὐτοῖς.

[5] This episode about Satyrus is recounted by Demosthenes, 19. 193 ff.

οὐδὲν ἀξιοῖ μεταλαβεῖν τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ φιλανθρω-
πίας· τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος ὅτι βούλεται παρ' αὐτοῦ
τυχεῖν τινος δωρεᾶς δεδοικέναι δὲ μήποτε δηλώσας
τὴν προκεχειρισμένην ἔντευξιν ἀποτύχῃ, ὁ μὲν βασι-
λεὺς περιχαρὴς γενόμενος διεβεβαιώσατο πᾶν ὅ τι
ἂν αἰτήσῃ χαρίσασθαι· ὁ δ' εἶπεν ὅτι ξένου τινὸς
ἑαυτοῦ δύο παρθένοι τὴν ἡλικίαν ἔχουσαι γάμου
τυγχάνουσιν ἐν ταῖς αἰχμαλώτοις οὖσαι· ταύτας οὖν
βούλεσθαι λαβεῖν, οὐχ ἵνα λυσιτέλειάν τινα περι-
ποιήσηται τυχὼν τῆς δωρεᾶς, ἀλλ' ἵνα προικίσας
ἀμφοτέρας συνοικίσῃ καὶ μὴ περιίδῃ μηδὲν παθού-
4 σας ἀνάξιον τῆς ἡλικίας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ Φίλιππος
ἀσμένως τὴν αἴτησιν προσδεξάμενος παραχρῆμα
τὰς παρθένους ἐδωρήσατο τῷ Σατύρῳ. πολλὰς δὲ
καὶ ἄλλας παντοδαπὰς εὐεργεσίας καὶ δωρεὰς δια-
σπείρων ἐκομίζετο τοὺς μισθοὺς πολλαπλασίους τῆς
χάριτος· πολλοὶ γὰρ ταῖς τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἐλπίσι
προκληθέντες ἔφθασαν ἀλλήλους προσνέμοντες ἑαυ-
τοὺς τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ τὰς πατρίδας ἐγχειρίζοντες.

56. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Θεμιστοκλέους
ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὴν ὑπατικὴν ἀρχὴν διεδέξαντο Γάιος
Κορνήλιος καὶ Μάρκος Ποπίλιος.[1] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων
Βοιωτοὶ πολλὴν τῆς Φωκίδος χώραν πορθήσαντες
περὶ τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ὕαν πόλιν[2] ἐνίκησαν τοὺς
πολεμίους καὶ κατέβαλον αὐτῶν περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα.
2 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Βοιωτοὶ περὶ Κορώνειαν συμπλα-
κέντες τοῖς Φωκεῦσιν ἡττήθησαν καὶ συχνοὺς ἀπ-
έβαλον. ἔπειτα τῶν Φωκέων κατασχόντων[3] ἱκανάς
τινας πόλεις ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ στρατεύσαντες οἱ Βοιω-

[1] So RV (cp. Livy, 7. 23): Πόπλιος PXFMO.
[2] So R (cp. Strabo, 9. 2. 3; *CIG*, ix. 94); Ὑάν πολιν PXF; generally Ὑάμπολιν.

partake of the friendly courtesy he offered; and when 348/7 B.C.
Satyrus said that he wished to obtain a boon from him but he feared lest, if he disclosed the request he had decided upon, he should be refused, the king, exceedingly pleased, affirmed that he granted forthwith any favour he might ask. He replied that there were two virgin daughters of a friend of his who were of marriageable age among the captive women; these girls he wished to obtain, not in order to derive any profit if he were granted the gift, but to give them both a dowry and husbands and not permit them to suffer any indignity unworthy of their years. Thereupon Philip gladly acceded to his request and immediately made a present of the girls to Satyrus. And by dispensing many other benefactions and gifts of every kind he reaped returns many times greater than his favour; for many who were incited by hopes of his beneficence outstripped one another in devoting themselves to Philip and in delivering their countries to him.

56. When Themistocles was archon at Athens, at 347/6 B.C.
Rome Gaius Cornelius and Marcus Popilius succeeded to the consular office. During their term of office the Boeotians, after sacking much of the Phocian territory about the city named Hya,[1] defeated their enemies and slew about seventy of them. After this the Boeotians, having come to grips near Coroneia with the Phocians, were defeated and lost many men. When the Phocians now seized several cities of considerable size in Boeotia, the Boeotians took the field and

[1] A town, usually called Hyampolis, situated at the entrance to Phocis from Thessaly and Boeotia; cp. Herod. 8. 28.

[3] So Fischer: κατεχόντων.

τοὶ καὶ τὸν σῖτον ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῶν πολεμίων
3 φθείραντες κατὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον ἡττήθησαν. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Φάλαικος μὲν ὁ τῶν Φωκέων στρατηγός, διαβληθεὶς ὅτι πολλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων κέκλοφεν, ἐξέπεσεν ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου στρατηγῶν αἱρεθέντων τριῶν, Δεινοκράτους καὶ Καλλίου καὶ Σωφάνους, ἐγένετο ζήτησις τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων καὶ λόγον τοὺς κεχειρικότας οἱ Φωκεῖς ἀπῄτουν· ἦν δὲ πλεῖστα διῳκηκὼς Φίλων.
4 οὗτος δ' οὐ δυνάμενος ἀποδοῦναι τὸν λόγον κατεδικάσθη καὶ στρεβλωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοὺς μετέχοντας τῆς κλοπῆς ἐμήνυσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ταῖς ἐσχάταις αἰκίαις περιπεσὼν οἰκείαν τῆς ἀσεβείας
5 ἔσχε τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφήν. οἱ δὲ νοσφισάμενοι τὰ χρήματα τὰ σῳζόμενα καὶ περιόντα τῶν ἐκ τῆς κλοπῆς ἀπέδωκαν, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐθανατώθησαν ὡς ἱερόσυλοι. τῶν δὲ προγεγενημένων στρατηγῶν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἄρξας Φιλόμηλος ἀπέσχετο τῶν ἀναθημάτων, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος, προσαγορευόμενος μὲν Ὀνόμαρχος, ἀδελφὸς δ' ὢν Φιλομήλου, πλεῖστα τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων κατεδαπάνησε, τρίτος δὲ Φάυλλος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ὀνομάρχου στρατηγήσας οὐκ ὀλίγα τῶν ἀναθημάτων κατέκοψεν εἰς τὰς τῶν
6 ξένων μισθοφοράς. τὰς γὰρ ἀνατεθείσας ὑπὸ Κροίσου τοῦ Λυδῶν βασιλέως χρυσᾶς πλίνθους, οὔσας ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι διταλάντους, κατέκοψεν εἰς νόμισμα, φιάλας δὲ χρυσᾶς τριακοσίας καὶ ἑξήκοντα

[1] See Pausanias, 10. 2. 7.

[2] Diodorus is inconsistent regarding Philomelus. In chap. 28. 2 he makes the same statement as here; in chap. 30. 1 he says the opposite.

destroyed the grain in enemy territory, but were defeated on the return journey. While these things were going on, Phalaecus, the general of the Phocians, who was accused of stealing many of the sacred properties, was removed from his command.[1] Three generals having been chosen to replace him, Deinocrates, Callias, and Sophanes, an investigation into the sacred property took place and the Phocians called upon those who had administered it to render an accounting. The man who had been in charge of most of it was Philon. Since he was unable to render a proper accounting, he was adjudged guilty, and after being tortured by the generals disclosed the names of his accomplices in the theft, while he himself, after being subjected to the utmost torments, obtained the kind of death that suited his impiety. Those who had diverted the properties to their own use restored whatever balance they still possessed of the stolen property and were themselves put to death as temple-robbers. Of the generals who had been in office previously, the first to hold the office, Philomelus, had kept his hands off the dedications,[2] but the second, named Onomarchus, brother of Philomelus, squandered much of the god's money, while the third, Phayllus, the brother of Onomarchus, when he became general, struck into coin a large number of the dedications in order to pay the mercenaries. For he coined for currency one hundred twenty gold bricks which had been dedicated by Croesus [3] king of the Lydians weighing two talents each, and three hundred sixty golden goblets weighing two minae each, and 347/6 B.C.

[3] Cp. Herod. 1. 50 and Plutarch, *De Pythiae Oraculis*, 401 E, F. For a discussion of values see Boeckh, *Staatshaushandlung der Athener*, 1³. 10 (2nd edition translated by G. C. Lewis, *The Political Economy of Athens*, 10).

διμναίους καὶ λέοντα χρυσοῦν καὶ γυναῖκα, τριάκοντα ταλάντων χρυσοῦ σταθμὸν ἀγόντων τῶν πάντων· ὥστε τὸ πᾶν κατακοπὲν χρυσίον εἰς ἀργυρίου λόγον ἀναγομένων τῶν χρημάτων εὑρίσκεσθαι τάλαντα τετρακισχίλια· τῶν δ' ἀργυρῶν ἀναθημάτων τῶν τε ὑπὸ Κροίσου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἀνατεθέντων τοὺς πάντας στρατηγοὺς δεδαπανηκέναι[1] τάλαντα πλείω τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων, προστιθεμένων δὲ καὶ τῶν χρυσῶν ἀναθημάτων ὑπερβάλλειν τὰ
7 μύρια τάλαντα. ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν συγγραφέων φασὶν οὐκ ἐλάττω γενέσθαι τὰ συληθέντα τῶν ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς θησαυροῖς ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου κατακτηθέντων. ἐπεχείρησαν δ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Φάλαικον στρατηγοὶ καὶ τὸν ναὸν ὀρύττειν, εἰπόντος τινὸς ὡς ἐν αὐτῷ θησαυρὸς εἴη πολὺν ἔχων ἄργυρόν τε καὶ χρυσόν· καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἑστίαν καὶ τὸν τρίποδα φιλοτίμως ἀνέσκαπτον. ὁ δὲ μηνύσας τὸν θησαυρὸν μάρτυρα παρείχετο τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον καὶ ἀρχαιότατον τῶν ποιητῶν Ὅμηρον ἐν οἷς λέγει

οὐδ' ὅσα λάινος οὐδὸς ἀφήτορος ἐντὸς ἐέργει
Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθοῖ ἐνὶ πετρηέσσῃ.

8 τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἐγχειρούντων σκάπτειν τὰ περὶ τὸν τρίποδα σεισμοὶ μεγάλοι γενόμενοι τοῖς Φωκεῦσι φόβον ἐπέστησαν, φανερῶς δὲ τῶν θεῶν προσημαινόντων τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἱεροσύλων κόλασιν ἀπέστησαν τῶν ἔργων. ὁ δὲ τῆς παρανομίας ταύτης ἡγεμὼν Φίλων ὁ προειρημένος ταχὺ τῷ δαιμονίῳ τὰς προσηκούσας δίκας ἐξέτισε.

57. Τῆς δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων φθορᾶς τὴν μὲν ὅλην ἐπιγραφὴν ἔσχον Φωκεῖς, μετέσχον δὲ τῆς

[1] Fischer would supply φασὶ or the like after δεδαπανηκέναι.

golden statues of a lion and of a woman, weighing in all thirty talents of gold, so that the sum total of gold that was coined into money, referred to the standard of silver, is found to be four thousand talents, while of the silver offerings, those dedicated by Croesus and all the others, all three generals had spent more than six thousand talents' worth, and if to these were added the gold dedications, the sum surpassed ten thousand talents. Some of the historians say that the pillaged property was not less than the sums acquired by Alexander [1] in the treasure chambers of the Persians. The generals on the staff of Phalaecus took steps even to dig up the temple, because some one said that there was a treasure chamber in it containing much gold and silver, and they zealously dug up the ground about the hearth and the tripod. The man who gave information about the treasure offered as witness the most famous and ancient of poets Homer, who says in a certain passage [2]: 347/6 B.C.

"Nor all the wealth beneath the stony floor that lies
Where Phoebus, archer god, in rocky Pytho dwells."

But as the soldiers attempted to dig about the tripod, great earthquakes occurred and roused fear in the hearts of the Phocians, and since the gods clearly indicated in advance the punishment they would visit upon the temple-robbers, the soldiers desisted from their efforts. The leader of this sacrilege, the aforementioned Philon, was promptly punished as he deserved for his crime against the god.

57. Although the loss of the sacred property was ascribed entirely to the Phocians, the Athenians and

[1] See Book 17. 66 and 71.
[2] *Iliad*, 9. 404-405.

αἱρέσεως Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συμμαχήσαντες τοῖς Φωκεῦσι καὶ οὐ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐκπεμπομένων στρατιωτῶν τοὺς μισθοὺς λαβόντες.
2 οὕτω δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁ χρόνος οὗτος ἤνεγκεν ἐξαμαρτάνειν εἰς τὸ δαιμόνιον ὥστε μικρὸν ἀνώτερον τῶν Δελφικῶν καιρῶν Ἰφικράτους διατρίβοντος περὶ Κόρκυραν μετὰ ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ Διονυσίου τοῦ Συρακοσίων δυνάστου πέμψαντος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ Δελφοὺς ἀγάλματα ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος δεδημιουργημένα περιτυχὼν ταῖς κομιζούσαις αὐτὰ ναυσὶν ὁ Ἰφικράτης καὶ κρατήσας αὐτῶν διεπέμψατο πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐπερωτῶν Τί χρὴ πράττειν; οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι προσέταξαν αὐτῷ μὴ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐξετάζειν, ἀλλὰ σκοπεῖν ὅπως τοὺς
3 στρατιώτας διαθρέψει.[1] Ἰφικράτης μὲν οὖν ὑπακούσας τῷ δόγματι τῆς πατρίδος ἐλαφυροπώλησε τὸν τῶν θεῶν κόσμον· ὁ δὲ τύραννος ὀργισθεὶς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔγραψε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπιστολὴν τοιαύτην.

" Διονύσιος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ εὖ μὲν πράττειν οὐκ ἐπιτήδειόν ἐστι γράφειν, ἐπεὶ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἱεροσυλεῖτε καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ εἰς ἀνάθεσιν ὑφ' ἡμῶν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπεσταλμένα παρελόμενοι κατεκόψατε καὶ περὶ τοὺς μεγίστους τῶν θεῶν ἠσεβήκατε, περὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον."

4 Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸ θεῖον τοιαῦτ' ἔπραξαν,

[1] So Dindorf: διαθρέψῃ.

the Lacedaemonians, who were fighting on the side of the Phocians and received pay out of all proportion to the number of soldiers they sent out, shared in the seizure. This period brought it to pass for the Athenians that they sinned against the divine powers to such an extent that, shortly before the Delphian affair,[1] as Iphicrates was tarrying near Corcyra with a naval force and Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse had shipped to Olympia and to Delphi statues cunningly wrought in gold and ivory, Iphicrates, chancing to fall in with the ships that were conveying these statues, seized them and sent word to the Athenian people inquiring what he should do with them ; whereat the Athenians instructed him not to raise questions about what concerned the gods but to give his attention to seeing that his soldiers were well fed. Now Iphicrates, obeying the decision of his country, sold as booty the works of art belonging to the gods. The tyrant, filled with rage at the Athenians, wrote them a letter of the following tenor : 347/6 B.C.

" Dionysius to the Senate and Assembly of the Athenians : It is inappropriate to wish you to do well since you are committing sacrilege[2] against the gods both on land and on sea, and, having made off with the statues which had been sent by us to be dedicated to the gods, you have turned them into coin and have committed impiety toward the greatest of the gods, Apollo, whose abode is Delphi, and Olympian Zeus."

Such now was the conduct of the Athenians toward

[1] Perhaps on the occasion mentioned in Book 15. 47. 7.

[2] An interesting complaint in view of Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 1. 20 : Διονύσιος (the Elder ?) ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις ἱερῶν ἐσύλησε τὰ χρήματα. For the probable occasion of this letter see Book 15. 47. 7.

καὶ ταῦτα εὐχόμενοι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα πατρῷον αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ πρόγονον· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τῷ περὶ Δελφοὺς μαντείῳ χρησάμενοι καὶ τὴν θαυμαζομένην παρὰ πᾶσι πολιτείαν διὰ τούτου κτησάμενοι καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἔτι καὶ νῦν τὸν θεὸν ἐπερωτῶντες ἐτόλμησαν τοῖς τὸ ἱερὸν συλήσασι κοινωνῆσαι τῆς παρανομίας.

58. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Βοιωτίαν οἱ μὲν Φωκεῖς τρεῖς
πόλεις ἔχοντες ὠχυρωμένας, Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Κο-
ρώνειαν καὶ Κορσίας, ἐκ τούτων ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἐπὶ
τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς στρατείαν. εὐπορούμενοι δὲ μισθο-
φόρων τήν τε χώραν ἐδῄουν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθέσεις
2 καὶ συμπλοκὰς περιεγίνοντο τῶν ἐγχωρίων. διόπερ
οἱ Βοιωτοὶ θλιβόμενοι μὲν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ πολλοὺς
τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπολωλεκότες, χρημάτων δὲ ἀπο-
ρούμενοι πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψαν πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον
3 ἀξιοῦντες βοηθῆσαι. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἡδέως ὁρῶν τὴν
ταπείνωσιν αὐτῶν καὶ βουλόμενος τὰ Λευκτρικὰ
φρονήματα συστεῖλαι τῶν Βοιωτῶν ὀλίγους[1] ἀπ-
έστειλε στρατιώτας, αὐτὸ μόνον φυλαττόμενος τὸ
4 μὴ δοκεῖν[2] περιορᾶν τὸ μαντεῖον σεσυλημένον. τῶν
δὲ Φωκέων οἰκοδομούντων φρούριον περὶ τὰς ὀνο-
μαζομένας Ἄβας, καθ᾿ ἃς ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἅγιον
ἱερόν, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ᾿ αὐτοὺς οἱ Βοιωτοί. εὐθὺ
δ᾿ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν εἰς τὰς ἔγγιστα πόλεις φυγόντες
διεσπάρησαν, οἱ δ᾿ εἰς τὸν νεὼ[3] τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος

[1] *perpaucos* Cospus: οὐκ ὀλίγους.
[2] So Post: δοκεῖν μή.
[3] So PR: νεὼν *cett.*

[1] Through Ion, son of Apollo and Creusa.
[2] See Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 5. 3, esp. καὶ καταινεῖν ἔφη τὸν θεὸν ἦ πολὺ κρατίστη τῶν ἄλλων ἔσται πολιτειῶν.

the divine powers, and that too though they boasted 347/6 B.C.
that Apollo was their tutelary god and progenitor.[1] And the Lacedaemonians, though they had consulted the oracle of Apollo at Delphi and through it come to possess their constitution[2] which is admired of all the world, though even now they still interrogate the god on matters of supreme importance,[3] had the effrontery to become partners in crime of those who pillaged the sanctuary.

58. In Boeotia the Phocians, who held three strongly fortified cities, Orchomenus, Coroneia, and Corsiae,[4] conducted from these their campaign against the Boeotians. Being well supplied with mercenaries they pillaged the country and in their thrusts and engagements proved superior to the inhabitants of the place. As a consequence the Boeotians, feeling the pinch of war and the loss of great numbers of their men, but having no financial resources, sent envoys to Philip with a request for assistance. The king, pleased to see their discomfiture and disposed to humble the Boeotians' pride over Leuctra, dispatched few men, being on his guard against one thing only—lest he be thought to be indifferent to the pillaging of the oracle. As the Phocians were engaged in building a fortress near the place named Abae,[5] at which is a holy shrine of Apollo, the Boeotians took the field against them. Some of the Phocians straightway fled to the nearest cities and dispersed, while others took refuge in the

[3] Cp. Book 14. 13. 3: τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μάλιστα τοῖς μαντείοις προσέχοντας.
[4] A town sometimes included in Opuntian Locris, called Κορσιά in Demosthenes, 19. 141; in Theopompus Κορσίαι, *FHG*, 1. 310.
[5] A town of Phocis near the frontiers of the Opuntian Locrians.

5 *καταφυγόντες εἰς πεντακοσίους ἀπώλοντο. πολλὰ
μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα θεῖα περὶ τοὺς Φωκεῖς συνέβη
γενέσθαι περὶ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους, μάλιστα δὲ
τὸ μέλλον λέγεσθαι. οἱ γὰρ εἰς τὸν νεὼ καταφυ-
γόντες ὑπέλαβον διὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἐπικουρίας
σωθήσεσθαι, τοὐναντίον δὲ θείᾳ τινὶ προνοίᾳ τῆς
6 προσηκούσης τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις τιμωρίας ἔτυχον· πολ-
λῆς γὰρ οὔσης στιβάδος περὶ τὸν νεὼ[1] καὶ πυρὸς
ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς τῶν πεφευγότων ἀπολελειμμένου
συνέβη τῆς στιβάδος ἐκκαυθείσης τοσαύτην ἐξ-
αφθῆναι φλόγα παραδόξως ὥστε τὸν ναὸν καὶ τοὺς
καταπεφευγότας εἰς αὐτὸν Φωκεῖς ζῶντας κατα-
φλεχθῆναι. τοῖς γὰρ ἱεροσύλοις ἔδοξε τὸ θεῖον μὴ
διδόναι τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἱκεσίας συγχωρουμένην ἀσφά-
λειαν.*

59. *Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Ἀρχίου Ῥω-
μαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Μάρκον Αἰμίλιον καὶ
Τίτον Κοΐνκτιον.[2] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ὁ Φωκικὸς πό-
λεμος, διαμείνας ἔτη δέκα, κατελύθη τόνδε τὸν τρό-
πον. Βοιωτῶν καὶ Φωκέων τεταπεινωμένων διὰ τὸ
μῆκος τοῦ πολέμου Φωκεῖς μὲν πρέσβεις ἐξαπέ-
στειλαν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα περὶ βοηθείας, Σπαρτιᾶται
δὲ χιλίους ὁπλίτας ἐξέπεμψαν στρατηγὸν ἐπιστή-
2 σαντες Ἀρχίδαμον τὸν βασιλέα. Βοιωτῶν δὲ
παραπλησίως τούτοις διαπρεσβευσαμένων πρὸς Φί-
λιππον περὶ συμμαχίας ὁ Φίλιππος παραλαβὼν τοὺς
Θετταλοὺς ἧκεν εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα μετὰ πολλῆς δυνά-*

[1] So PRF: *νεῶν cett.*
[2] Κοΐνκτιον PXR, Κόϊντον FO] Livy, 7. 24; *Fasti Consulares* (see note 2 opposite).

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[1] What Diodorus attributes to chance and providence,

temple of Apollo and perished to the number of five hundred. 347/6 B.C. Now many other divine visitations fell to the lot of the Phocians about this period, and in particular the one that I am about to relate. The men who had taken refuge in the temple supposed that their lives would be saved through the intervention of the gods, but on the contrary through some divine Providence[1] they met with the punishment temple-robbers well deserve. For there was a quantity of rushes about the temple, and a fire had been left behind in the tents of the men who had fled, with the result that the rushes caught fire and such a great conflagration was touched off so miraculously that the temple was consumed and the Phocians who had fled to it for refuge were burned alive. Indeed it became apparent that the gods do not extend to temple-robbers the protection generally accorded to suppliants.

59. When Archias was archon at Athens, the 346/5 B.C. Romans elected Marcus Aemilius and Titus Quinctius consuls.[2] During their term of office the Phocian War, after lasting for ten[3] years, was terminated in the following manner. Since the Boeotians and the Phocians were utterly dejected by the length of the war, the Phocians dispatched envoys to Lacedaemon asking for reinforcements, and the Spartans sent a thousand hoplites in charge of whom as general they placed their king Archidamus. Similarly the Boeotians sent an embassy to Philip proposing an alliance, and Philip, after taking over the Thessalians, entered Lo-

Pausanias, 10. 35. 3, lays upon the Thebans: *αὐτούς τε οἱ Θηβαῖοι τοὺς ἱκέτας καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν . . . ἔδοσαν πυρί.*
[2] Livy, 7. 24 gives L. Furius Camillus and Appius Claudius Crassus. The latter is named in the *Fasti Consulares*.
[3] Cp. chaps. 14. 3 and 23. 1.

μεως. καταλαβὼν δὲ Φάλαικον πάλιν τῆς στρατηγίας ἠξιωμένον καὶ τὸ τῶν[1] μισθοφόρων ἔχοντα πλῆθος παρεσκευάζετο παρατάξει κρῖναι τὸν πόλεμον· ὁ δὲ Φάλαικος ἐν τῇ Νικαίᾳ διατρίβων καὶ θεωρῶν αὑτὸν οὐκ ἀξιόμαχον ὄντα διεπρεσβεύσατο
3 πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα περὶ διαλύσεων. γενομένης δ' ὁμολογίας ὥστε τὸν Φάλαικον μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπελθεῖν ὅποι[2] βούλοιτο, οὗτος μὲν ὑπόσπονδος εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἀπεχώρησε[3] μετὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων, ὄντων ὀκτακισχιλίων, οἱ δὲ Φωκεῖς συντριβέντες ταῖς ἐλπίσι παρέδωκαν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Φιλίππῳ.
4 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἄνευ μάχης ἀνελπίστως καταλύσας τὸν ἱερὸν πόλεμον συνήδρευε μετὰ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θετταλῶν. ἔκρινεν οὖν συναγαγεῖν[4] τὸ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων συνέδριον καὶ τούτῳ τὴν περὶ τῶν ὅλων διάγνωσιν ἐπιτρέψαι.

60. Ἔδοξεν οὖν τοῖς συνέδροις μεταδοῦναι τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις αὐτοῦ τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας καὶ δύο ψήφους ἔχειν, ἃς πρότερον οἱ καταπολεμηθέντες Φωκεῖς εἶχον· τῶν δ' ἐπὶ Φωκεῦσι[5]

[1] τὸ τῶν deleted by Dindorf; Fischer suggests ἱκανὸν.
[2] So Schäfer: ὅπου RF, ὁπότε PX.
[3] So Hertlein: ἀνεχώρησε.
[4] So Hertlein and Madvig (cp. Book 17. 4. 2): συνκατάγειν P, συγκατάγειν *cett.*
[5] So Sherman; ὑπὸ Φωκεῦσι Weiske; τῶν ἐν Βοιωτοῖς Schäfer: τῶν δ' ἐν Φωκεῦσι. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], 3. 1. 512, note 1 would read τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι τριῶν [καὶ εἴκοσι].

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[1] This town commanded the pass of Thermopylae.
[2] Cp. Demosthenes, 19. 230, who gives the figure 10,000 foot and 1000 horse. Diodorus omits all the details of the Peace of Philocrates and the embassy leading up to it. For

cris with a large army. And when he had overtaken 346/5 B.C.
Phalaecus, who had again been granted the generalship and had the main body of the mercenaries, Philip prepared to decide the war by a pitched battle. But Phalaecus, who was tarrying in Nicaea[1] and saw that he was no match for Philip, sent ambassadors to the king to treat for an armistice. An agreement was reached whereby Phalaecus with his men should depart whithersoever he wished, and he then, under terms of the truce, withdrew to the Peloponnese with his mercenaries to the number of eight thousand,[2] but the Phocians, whose hopes were now completely crushed, surrendered to Philip. The king, having without a battle unexpectedly terminated the Sacred War, sat in council with the Boeotians and the Thessalians. As a result he decided to call a meeting of the Amphictyonic Council and leave to it the final decision on all the issues at stake.

60. The members of the Council then passed a decree admitting Philip and his descendants to the Amphictyonic Council and according him two votes which formerly had been held by the Phocians,[3] now defeated in war. They also voted that the three cities[4]

an account of this see Pickard-Cambridge, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 233 ff.
[3] For the reorganization of the votes in the Amphictyonic League see P.-W. *Realencyclopädie*, 4. 2681 ff., and Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], 3. 1. 512, note 4; and Pickard-Cambridge, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 241.
[4] These seem to be the three Boeotian cities in the hands of the Phocians (cp. chaps. 56. 2 and 58. 1). The MSS. read "in the land of the Phocians" which is inconsistent with section 2 below and other accounts (*e.g.* Demosthenes, 19. 325, where two of the towns mentioned, Orchomenus and Coroneia, are said to have been enslaved). (Cp. also Pausanias, 10. 3.)

τριῶν πόλεων περιελεῖν τὰ τείχη καὶ μηδεμίαν κοινωνίαν εἶναι τοῖς Φωκεῦσι τοῦ ἱεροῦ μηδὲ τοῦ Ἀμφικτυονικοῦ συνεδρίου· μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ αὐτοῖς μήτε ἵππους μήτε ὅπλα κτήσασθαι, μέχρις ἂν οὗ τὰ χρήματα ἐκτίσωσι τῷ θεῷ τὰ σεσυλημένα· τοὺς δὲ πεφευγότας τῶν Φωκέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν μετεσχηκότων τῆς ἱεροσυλίας ἐναγεῖς εἶναι καὶ
2 ἀγωγίμους πάντοθεν· τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἁπάσας τῶν Φωκέων κατασκάψαι καὶ μετοικίσαι εἰς κώμας, ὧν ἑκάστην μὴ πλεῖον ἔχειν οἰκιῶν πεντήκοντα, μηδ᾽ ἔλαττον διεστάναι[1] σταδίου τὰς κώμας ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων· ἔχειν δὲ Φωκεῖς τὴν χώραν καὶ φέρειν κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν τῷ θεῷ φόρον τάλαντα ἑξήκοντα μέχρις ἂν ἐκτίσωσι τὰ ἀπογραφέντα χρήματα κατὰ τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν· τιθέναι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Πυθίων Φίλιππον μετὰ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θετταλῶν διὰ τὸ Κορινθίους[2] μετεσχηκέναι τοῖς Φωκεῦσι τῆς εἰς τὸ
3 θεῖον παρανομίας· τοὺς δὲ Ἀμφικτύονας καὶ τὸν Φίλιππον τὰ ὅπλα τῶν Φωκέων καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων καταπετροκοπῆσαι καὶ τὰ λείψανα αὐτῶν κατακαῦσαι καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀποδόσθαι. ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτοις διέταξαν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ μαντείου καὶ τἄλλα πάντα τὰ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ κοινὴν εἰρήνην καὶ ὁμόνοιαν τοῖς Ἕλ-
4 λησιν ἀνήκοντα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Φίλιππος μὲν τὰ δεδογμένα τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσι συγκαταστήσας καὶ

[1] So Post: μηδὲ διεστάναι ἔλαττον.

[2] No satisfactory explanation of the MSS. reading Κορινθίους has been offered. Wesseling suggests a lacuna before διὰ τὸ Κορινθίους, Fischer after. According to chap. 29. 1 Athenians, Lacedaemonians and "some others of the Peloponnesians" sided with the Phocians.

in the possession of the Phocians should have their walls removed and that the Phocians should have no participation in the shrine of Delphi or in the Council of the Amphictyons; that they should not be permitted to acquire either horses or arms until they should have repaid to the god the monies they had pillaged; that those of the Phocians who had fled and any others who had had a share in robbing the sanctuary were to be under a curse and subject to arrest wherever they might be; that all the cities of the Phocians were to be razed and the men moved to villages, no one of which should have more than fifty houses, and the villages were to be not less than a stade distant from one another; that the Phocians were to possess their territory and to pay each year to the god a tribute of sixty talents until they should have paid back the sums entered in the registers at the time of the pillaging of the sanctuary. Philip, furthermore, was to hold the Pythian games together with the Boeotians and Thessalians,[1] since the Corinthians had shared with the Phocians in the sacrilege committed against the god. The Amphictyons and Philip were to hurl the arms of the Phocians and their mercenaries down the crags and burn what remained of them and to sell the horses. In similar tenor the Amphictyons laid down regulations for the custody of the oracle and other matters affecting due respect for the gods and the general peace and concord of the Greeks. Thereafter, when Philip had helped the Amphictyons give effect to their decrees and had dealt courteously 346/5 B.C.

[1] See Pickard-Cambridge, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 240 ff.

πρὸς πάντας[1] φιλοφρονηθεὶς ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, οὐ μόνον δόξαν εὐσεβείας καὶ ἀρετῆς στρατηγικῆς περιπεποιημένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν μέλλουσαν αὔξησιν αὐτῷ γίνεσθαι μεγάλα προκατεσκευασμένος. ἐπεθύμει γὰρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποδειχθῆναι στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ τὸν πρὸς Πέρσας ἐξενεγκεῖν πόλεμον· ὅπερ καὶ συνέβη γενέσθαι. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀναγράψομεν, νῦν δ' ἐπὶ τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ἱστορίας τρεψόμεθα.

61. Δίκαιον δ' εἶναι νομίζομεν πρῶτον ἀναγράψαι τὴν ἐκ θεῶν γενομένην τοῖς εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον παρανενομηκόσι[2] κόλασιν. ὅλως γὰρ οὐ μόνον τοῖς αὐθένταις τῆς ἱεροσυλίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς προσαψαμένοις μόνον τῆς παρανομίας ἀπαραίτητος ἐκ
2 τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐπηκολούθησε τιμωρία. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχιτέκτων τῆς καταλήψεως τοῦ ἱεροῦ Φιλόμηλος κατά τινα περίστασιν πολεμικὴν ἑαυτὸν κατεκρήμνισεν, ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ὀνόμαρχος διαδεξάμενος τὴν τῶν ἀπονοηθέντων στρατηγίαν μετὰ τῶν συμπαραταξαμένων ἐν Θετταλίᾳ Φωκέων καὶ
3 μισθοφόρων κατακοπεὶς ἐσταυρώθη. ὁ δὲ τρίτος καὶ πλεῖστα τῶν ἀναθημάτων κατακόψας Φάυλλος πολυχρονίῳ νόσῳ νοσήσας οὐδ' ἀπολυθῆναι συντόμως τῆς τιμωρίας ἠδυνήθη. ὁ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι Φάλαικος τὰ λείψανα τῆς ἱεροσυλίας ἀναλαβὼν ἐν πλάναις καὶ μεγάλοις φόβοις καὶ κινδύνοις ἐφ' ἱκανὸν χρόνον ἐβίωσεν, οὐχ ἵνα μακαριώτερος γένηται τῶν συνασεβησάντων, ἀλλ' ἵνα πλείω χρόνον

[1] πρὸς πάντας Kallenberg (cp. chap. 89. 2), πάντας Dindorf: πάντα.

[2] So Dindorf: παρηνομηκόσι (except P παρενομικόσι).

with all, he returned to Macedonia, having not merely 346/5 B.C.
won for himself a reputation for piety and excellent generalship, but having also made important preparations for the aggrandizement that was destined to be his. For he was ambitious to be designated general of Hellas in supreme command and as such to prosecute the war against the Persians. And this was what actually came to pass. But these events we shall record severally in their proper periods; we shall now proceed with the thread of our narrative.

61. But first it is only right, so we think, to record the punishment which was visited by the gods upon those who had committed the outrage on the oracle. For, speaking generally, it was not merely the perpetrators of the sacrilege but all persons who had the slightest connection with the sacrilege that were hounded by the inexorable retribution sent of Heaven. In fact the man who first schemed for the seizure of the shrine, Philomelus, in a crisis of the war hurled himself over a cliff,[1] while his brother Onomarchus, after taking over the command of his people, now become desperate, was cut to pieces in a battle in Thessaly, along with the Phocians and mercenaries of his command, and crucified.[2] The third in succession and the one who coined into money most of the dedications, Phayllus,[3] fell ill of a lingering disease and so was unable even to secure a quick release from his punishment. And the last of all, Phalaecus, who had gathered the remnants of the pillaged property, passed his life for a considerable length of time wandering about in great fear and danger, though it was not Heaven's intent that he should be happier than those who participated with him in the sacrilege, but that

[1] See chap. 31. [2] See chap. 35. [3] See chap. 38.

στρεβλωθεὶς καὶ πολλοῖς διὰ τὴν ἀτυχίαν γενόμενος
4 γνώριμος περιβόητον ἔχῃ τὴν συμφοράν. οὗτος γὰρ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ὁμολογίας[1] φυγὴν μετὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διέτριβεν περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, συνέχων τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκ τῶν ἱεροσυληθέντων λειψάνων, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Κορίνθῳ μισθωσάμενος πλοῖα φορτηγὰ μεγάλα καὶ τέσσαρας ἔχων ἡμιολίας παρεσκευάζετο πρὸς τὸν εἰς Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν πλοῦν, νομίζων ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τόποις ἢ καταλήψεσθαί τινα πόλιν ἢ τεύξεσθαι μισθοφορίας· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ Λευκανοῖς πρὸς Ταραντίνους συνεστηκὼς πόλεμος. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς συμπλέοντας ἔφη μετάπεμπτος πλεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας.

62. Ἐκπλεύσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ πελαγίου γενομένου στρατιῶταί τινες τῶν ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ πλοίῳ κομιζομένων, ᾧπερ αὐτὸς ὁ Φάλαικος ἐνέπλει, λόγον ἀλλήλοις ἐδίδοσαν ὑπονοοῦντες μηδένα μεταπέμψασθαι σφᾶς· οὔτε γὰρ ἡγεμόνας ἑώρων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων συμπλέοντας οὔθ' ὁ πλοῦς ἦν
2 ὀλίγος, ἀλλὰ πολὺς ὑπέκειτο[2] καὶ χαλεπός. διόπερ ἀπιστοῦντες ἅμα τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ φοβούμενοι τὴν διαπόντιον στρατείαν συνίσταντο καὶ μάλισθ' οἱ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἔχοντες τῶν μισθοφόρων. τέλος δὲ σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη καὶ καταπληξάμενοι τόν τε Φάλαικον καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην ἠνάγκασαν εἰς τοὐπίσω πάλιν ἀποπλεῖν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πλοίοις κομιζομένων ποιησάντων κατ-

[1] So Sherman (cp. chap. 59. 3); ἐκεχειρίας Capps: αἰχμαλωσίας.
[2] πολὺς ὑπέκειτο Dindorf: πλοῦς ὑπέκειτο μέγας.

by being tortured longer and by becoming known to many for his misfortunes, his sad fate might become notorious. For when he had taken flight with his mercenaries following the agreement,[1] he first sojourned in the Peloponnese, supporting his men on the last remnants of the pillaging, but later he hired in Corinth some large freighters and with four light vessels prepared for the voyage to Italy and Sicily, thinking that in these regions he would either seize some city or obtain service for pay, for a war was in progress, as it chanced, between the Lucanians and the Tarentines. To his fellow passengers he said that he was making the voyage because he had been summoned by the people of Italy and Sicily. 346/5 B.C.

62. When he had sailed out of the harbour and was on the high seas, some of the soldiers who were in the largest ship, on which Phalaecus himself was a passenger, conferred with one another because they suspected that no one had sent for them. For they could see on board no officers sent by the peoples who were soliciting aid, and the voyage in prospect was not short, but long and dangerous. Accordingly, since they not only distrusted what they had been told but also feared the overseas campaign, they conspired together, above all those who had commands among the mercenary troops. Finally drawing their swords and menacing Phalaecus and the pilot they forced them to reverse their course. And when those who were sailing in the other boats also did the same, they

[1] See chap. 59. 3, which hardly justifies the phrase ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας.

3 ἔπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον. ἀθροισθέντες δ' εἰς Μαλέαν ἄκραν τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐκεῖ κατέλαβον ἐκ Κρήτης καταπεπλευκότας Κνωσσίους πρέσβεις ἐπὶ συναγωγῇ μισθοφόρων· ὧν διαλεχθέντων τῷ τε Φαλαίκῳ καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ δόντων ἀξιολόγους τοὺς μισθοὺς μετὰ τούτων ἅπαντες ἐξέπλευσαν. κατάραντες δὲ τῆς Κρήτης εἰς Κνωσσὸν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐφόδου πόλιν κατελάβοντο τὴν καλουμένην Λύκτον.
4 τοῖς δὲ Λυκτίοις ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἐκπεπτωκόσι παράδοξος καὶ σύντομος ἐφάνη βοήθεια. περὶ γὰρ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Ταραντίνων διαπολεμούντων πρὸς Λευκανοὺς καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ὄντας προγόνους ἑαυτῶν πεμψάντων πρέσβεις περὶ βοηθείας οἱ μὲν Σπαρτιᾶται διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν προθύμως ἔχοντες συμμαχῆσαι ταχέως δύναμιν ἤθροιζον πεζικήν τε καὶ ναυτικὴν καὶ ταύτης στρατηγὸν ἀπέδειξαν Ἀρχίδαμον τὸν βασιλέα· μελλόντων δ' ἀπαίρειν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἠξίωσαν οἱ Λύκτιοι πρῶτον αὐτοῖς βοηθῆσαι· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεισθέντες καὶ πλεύσαντες εἰς τὴν Κρήτην τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἐνίκησαν, τοῖς δὲ Λυκτίοις ἀνέσωσαν τὴν πατρίδα.

63. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ μὲν Ἀρχίδαμος πλεύσας εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ συμμαχήσας τοῖς Ταραντίνοις ἔν τινι μάχῃ διαγωνισάμενος λαμπρῶς ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ κατὰ μὲν τὴν στρατηγίαν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον βίον ἐπαινούμενος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς Φωκεῖς συμμαχίαν μόνην βλασφημούμενος, ὡς μάλιστ' αἴτιος γεγονὼς
2 τῆς τῶν Δελφῶν καταλήψεως. Ἀρχίδαμος μὲν οὖν ἐβασίλευσε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἔτη τρία πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν διαδεξάμενος Ἆγις ὁ

put in again at a Peloponnesian harbour. Then they gathered at the Malean promontory in Laconia and there found Cnossian envoys who had sailed in from Crete to enlist mercenaries. After these envoys had conversed with Phalaecus and the commanders and had offered rather high pay, they all sailed off with them. Having made port at Cnossus in Crete, they immediately took by storm the city called Lyctus.[1] But to the Lyctians, who had been expelled from their native land, there appeared a miraculous and sudden reinforcement. For at about the same time the people of Tarentum were engaged in prosecuting a war against the Lucanians and had sent to the Lacedaemonians, who were the stock of their ancestors, envoys soliciting help, whereupon the Spartans, who were willing to join them because of their relationship, quickly assembled an army and navy and as general in command of it appointed King Archidamus. But as they were about to set sail for Italy, a request came from the Lyctians to help them first. Consenting to this, the Lacedaemonians sailed to Crete, defeated the mercenaries and restored to the Lyctians their native land. 346/5 B.C.

63. After this Archidamus sailed to Italy and joined forces with the Tarentines but lost his life fighting gallantly in battle. He was praised for his ability as general and for his conduct on the whole, though in the matter of the Phocian alliance alone he was severely criticized as the one who was chiefly responsible for the seizure of Delphi. Now Archidamus was king of the Lacedaemonians for twenty-three years, and Agis

[1] An important Cretan city, neighbour of Cnossus and frequently engaged in war with Cnossus. The inhabitants of Lyctus called themselves colonists of Sparta; Aristotle, *Politics*, 1271 b 28.

υἱὸς ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη δεκαπέντε. ἔπειτα οἱ μὲν Ἀρχιδάμου μισθοφόροι μετεσχηκότες τῆς τοῦ μαντείου συλήσεως ὑπὸ τῶν Λευκανῶν κατηκοντίσθησαν, ὁ δὲ Φάλαικος ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ τῆς Λύκτου
3 Κυδωνίαν πολιορκεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν. κατασκευάσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ μηχανὰς πολιορκητικὰς καὶ προσάγοντος τῇ πόλει κεραυνῶν πεσόντων αὗται μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου πυρὸς κατεφλέχθησαν, τῶν δὲ μισθοφόρων πολλοὶ παραβοηθοῦντες ταῖς μηχαναῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς διεφθάρησαν· ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς
4 Φάλαικος. ἔνιοι δέ φασιν αὐτὸν προσκόψαντά τινι τῶν μισθοφόρων ὑπὸ τούτου σφαγῆναι. οἱ δὲ περιλειφθέντες τῶν μισθοφόρων ἀναληφθέντες ὑπὸ Ἠλείων φυγάδων εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐκομίσθησαν καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἐπολέμουν πρὸς Ἠλείους.
5 Ἀρκάδων δὲ συναγωνισαμένων τοῖς Ἠλείοις καὶ μάχῃ νικησάντων τοὺς φυγάδας πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν μισθοφόρων ἀνῃρέθησαν, οἱ δὲ περιλειφθέντες εἰς τετρακισχιλίους ἐζωγρήθησαν. διελομένων δὲ τῶν τε Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἠλείων τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες τοὺς ἑαυτοῖς μερισθέντας ἅπαντας ἐλαφυροπώλησαν, οἱ δ' Ἠλεῖοι διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον παρανομίαν ἀπέσφαξαν.

64. Οἱ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἱεροσυλίας μετασχόντες τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου τιμωρίας ἠξιώθησαν. αἱ δ' ἐπισημόταται πόλεις κοινωνήσασαι

[1] Cp. chap. 88. 4, where nine years are allotted to Agis, as also in Book 17. 63. 4. The dates of the reigns are Archidamus III, 361–338; Agis II, 338–331. Agis fell in the battle of Megalopolis in the autumn of 331. The error of fifteen years seems to have arisen from the fact that in this passage (placed under year 346) Diodorus records the death of Archi-

his son succeeded to the throne and ruled for fifteen[1] years. After the death of Archidamus his mercenaries, who had participated in plundering the shrine, were shot down by the Lucanians, whereas Phalaecus, now that he had been driven out of Lyctus, attempted to besiege Cydonia. He had constructed siege engines and was bringing them up against the city when lightning descended and these structures were consumed by the divine fire, and many of the mercenaries in attempting to save the engines perished in the flames. Among them was the general Phalaecus. But some say that he offended one of the mercenaries and was slain by him. The mercenaries who survived were taken into their service by Eleian exiles, were then transported to the Peloponnese, and with these exiles were engaged in war against the people of Elis.[2] When the Arcadians joined the Eleians in the struggle and defeated the exiles in battle, many of the mercenaries were slain and the remainder, about four thousand, were taken captive. After the Arcadians and the Eleians had divided up the prisoners, the Arcadians sold as booty all who had been apportioned to them, while the Eleians executed their portion because of the outrage committed against the oracle. 346/5 B.C.

64. Now the participants in the sacrilege met in this fashion with their just retribution from the deity. And the most renowned cities because of their part

damus (which occurred in 338) and the succession of Agis. From 346 to 331 would give fifteen years. (For a full discussion of the date of the battle of Megalopolis in relation to Alexander's march see Beloch, 3. 2. § 130; also Tarn, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 443-445.)

[2] Cp. Demosthenes, 19. 260; Pausanias, 4. 28. 4 and 5. 4. 9. There seems to be no later reference in Diodorus to this war, which occurred about 343/2.

τῆς παρανομίας ὕστερον ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου κατα-
πολεμηθεῖσαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν
2 ἀπέβαλον. αἱ δὲ τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσιν ἡγεμόνων γυ-
ναῖκες περιθέμεναι τοὺς χρυσοῦς ἐκ Δελφῶν ὅρμους
οἰκείας τῆς ἀσεβείας τιμωρίας ἔτυχον· ἡ μὲν γὰρ
τὸν τῆς Ἑλένης γεγενημένον φορέσασα εἰς ἑται-
ρικὴν αἰσχύνην ἐνέπεσε καὶ τὸ κάλλος προέβαλε
τοῖς ἐξυβρίζειν προαιρουμένοις, ἡ δὲ τὸν τῆς Ἐρι-
φύλης περιθεμένη τῆς οἰκίας ὑπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου
τῶν υἱῶν ὑπὸ μανίας ἐμπυρισθείσης μετὰ ταύτης
ζῶσα κατεφλέχθη. οἱ μὲν οὖν τοῦ δαιμονίου κατα-
φρονεῖν τολμήσαντες τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον ὑπὸ τῶν
3 θεῶν τιμωρίας ἠξιώθησαν, ὁ δὲ τῷ[1] μαντείῳ βοη-
θήσας Φίλιππος ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρόνων ἀεὶ μᾶλ-
λον αὐξόμενος τὸ τελευταῖον διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον
εὐσέβειαν ἡγεμὼν ἀπεδείχθη τῆς Ἑλλάδος πάσης
καὶ μεγίστην βασιλείαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην
περιεποιήσατο.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀρκούντως διεληλυθότες τὸν ἱερὸν πόλεμον ἐπάνιμεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἑτερογενεῖς πράξεις.

65. Κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Σικελίαν Συρακόσιοι στασιά-
ζοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ τυραννίσι πολλαῖς καὶ
ποικίλαις δουλεύειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι πρέσβεις ἐξ-
έπεμψαν εἰς Κόρινθον, ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοῖς ἀποστεῖλαι
στρατηγὸν τὸν ἐπιμελησόμενον τῆς πόλεως καὶ
καταλύσοντα τὴν τῶν τυραννεῖν ἐπιβαλομένων πλεον-
2 εξίαν. οἱ δὲ κρίνοντες δίκαιον εἶναι τοῖς ἀπογόνοις

[1] τούτῳ before τῷ deleted by Dindorf.

[1] Presumably refers to Antipater's invasion of the Peloponnese and the defeat of Agis, cp. Book 17. 63. 1-3 and 73. 5-6, and also to the defeat of Athens after the Lamian War, cp. Book 18. 18. 1-6.

in the outrage were later defeated in war by Antipater,[1] and lost at one and the same time their leadership and their freedom. The wives of the Phocian commanders who had worn the gold necklaces taken from Delphi met with punishment befitting their impiety. For one of them who had worn the chain which had belonged to Helen of Troy sank to the shameful life of a courtesan and flung her beauty before any who chose wantonly to abuse it, and another, who put on the necklace of Eriphylê,[2] had her house set on fire by her eldest son in a fit of madness and was burned alive in it. Thus those who had the effrontery to flout the deity met just retribution in the manner I have described at the hands of the gods, while Philip who rallied to the support of the oracle added continually to his strength from that time on and finally because of his reverence for the gods was appointed commander of all Hellas and acquired for himself the largest kingdom in Europe.

346/5 B.C.

Now that we have reported in sufficient detail the events of the Sacred War, we shall return to events of a different nature.

65. In Sicily[3] the Syracusans, who were engaged in civil strife and were forced to live as slaves under many varied tyrannies, sent ambassadors to Corinth with the request that the Corinthians should dispatch to them as general a man who would administer their city and curb the ambitions of those who aimed to become tyrants. The Corinthians, concluding that it

[2] Wife of Amphiaraüs. She was bribed by a necklace given her by Polyneices to induce her husband to take part in the expedition of the Seven against Thebes. Amphiaraüs met his death and she was slain in revenge by her son Alcmaeon.

[3] Last mentioned chap. 45. 9.

βοηθεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο πέμπειν στρατηγὸν Τιμολέοντα Τιμαινέτου,[1] πρωτεύοντα τῶν πολιτῶν ἀνδρείᾳ τε καὶ συνέσει στρατηγικῇ καὶ καθόλου πάσαις ταῖς ἀρεταῖς κεκοσμημένον. ἴδιον δέ τι συνέβη περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα συμπεσεῖν, ὃ συνελάβετο αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν
3 τῆς στρατηγίας αἵρεσιν. Τιμοφάνης γὰρ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ προέχων τῶν Κορινθίων πλούτῳ τε καὶ τόλμῃ πάλαι μὲν ἦν φανερὸς τυραννίδος ὀρεγόμενος, τότε δὲ τοὺς ἀπόρους ἀναλαμβάνων καὶ πανοπλίας[2] κατασκευαζόμενος καὶ τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν περιῄει, οὐ προσποιούμενος ὅτι τύραννός ἐστι, τὰ δὲ τῆς τυραννίδος
4 ἔργα διαπραττόμενος. ὁ δὲ Τιμολέων ἀλλοτριώτατος ὢν μοναρχίας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεχείρει πείθειν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀποστῆναι τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, ὡς δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουεν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπετείνετο τῇ τόλμῃ, ἀδυνατῶν αὐτὸν λόγῳ διορθώσασθαι περι-
5 πατοῦντα[3] κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀπέσφαξεν. θορύβου δὲ γενομένου καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν συνδραμόντων διά τε τὸ παράδοξον καὶ τὴν δεινότητα τῆς πράξεως στάσις ἐγίνετο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔφασαν δεῖν ὡς ἐμφύλιον φόνον πεπραχότα τὸν Τιμολέοντα τυγχάνειν τῆς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίας, οἱ δὲ τοὐναντίον ἀπεφαίνοντο
6 δεῖν[4] ἐπαινεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα ὡς τυραννοκτόνον. τῆς δὲ γερουσίας συνεδρευούσης ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ

[1] Τιμοδήμου Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 3; cp. Clasen, *Timoleon*, p. 13; Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens*, 2. 194, 464.
[2] πανοπλίαις Fischer.
[3] Hertlein: περιπατῶν (καὶ π. PX).
[4] δεῖν added by Fischer (cp. Books 12. 55. 8; 16. 84. 5).

was only right to assist people who were offshoots of themselves,[1] voted to send as general Timoleon, son of Timaenetus, a man of highest prestige amongst his fellow citizens for bravery and sagacity as a general and, in a word, splendidly equipped with every virtue. A peculiar coincidence befell him which contributed toward his being chosen to the generalship. Timophanes, his brother, a man of outstanding wealth and effrontery amongst the Corinthians, had for some time past been clearly aiming at a tyranny and at the moment was winning the poor to his cause and laying up a store of suits of armour and parading about the market-place accompanied by a band of ruffians, not actually claiming to be tyrant but practising the arts of tyranny. Timoleon, who was much averse to the rule of one man, first attempted to dissuade his brother from his overt attempt, but when the latter refused to heed and continued all the more his headstrong career, Timoleon, being unable by reasoning with him to make him mend his ways, put him to death as he was promenading in the market-place.[2] A scuffle ensued and a mob of citizens came surging up stirred by the surprising character and the enormity of the deed, and dissension broke out. One side claimed that as the perpetrator of a kin-murder Timoleon should receive the punishment prescribed by the laws, whereas the other party asserted just the opposite, that they should applaud him as a tyrannicide. When the senate met to deliberate in the 346/5 B.C.

[1] Syracuse was a Corinthian colony founded in 734.
[2] According to Plutarch the murder of Timophanes (not by Timoleon's own hand) occurred about twenty years before Timoleon's departure for Syracuse. Diodorus' account should be compared with Plutarch's and Nepos' *Timoleon*.

τῆς περὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀμφισβητήσεως ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον ἀναπεμφθείσης οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ τοῦ Τιμολέοντος κατηγόρουν, οἱ δὲ χαριέστεροι συνηγοροῦντες συν-
7 εβούλευον σώζειν τὸν ἄνδρα. ἀκρίτου δ' ἔτι τῆς ζητήσεως οὔσης κατέπλευσαν ἐκ τῶν Συρακουσσῶν οἱ πρέσβεις καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ τὰς ἐντολὰς δηλώσαντες ἠξίουν τὴν ταχίστην ἀποστεῖλαι τὸν
8 στρατηγόν. ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ συνεδρίῳ πέμπειν τὸν Τιμολέοντα καὶ πρὸς τὸ κατορθῶσαι τὴν πρᾶξιν ξένας τινὰς καὶ παραδόξους αἱρέσεις αὐτῷ προέθηκαν· διεβεβαιώσαντο γάρ, ἐὰν μὲν καλῶς ἄρξῃ τῶν Συρακοσίων, κρίνειν αὐτὸν τυραννοκτόνον, ἐὰν
9 δὲ πλεονεκτικώτερον, ἀδελφοῦ φονέα. ὁ δὲ Τιμολέων οὐχ οὕτω διὰ τὸν ἐπικρεμασθέντα φόβον ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίας ὡς διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν καλῶς καὶ συμφερόντως προέστη τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν πραγμάτων· Καρχηδονίους μὲν γὰρ κατεπολέμησε, τὰς δὲ κατεσκαμμένας ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἀπεκατέστησεν εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατάστασιν,[1] πᾶσαν δὲ Σικελίαν ἠλευθέρωσε, καθόλου δὲ τὰς Συρακούσσας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας[2] Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις παραλαμβάνων ἐρήμους ἐποίησε πολυανθρωπίᾳ διενεγκεῖν.

Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων τὰ κατὰ μέρος μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις ἀναγράψομεν, νῦν δ' ἐπὶ τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ἱστορίας μεταβιβάσομεν τὸν λόγον.

[1] εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατάστασιν added by Fischer from Polybius, 23. 17. 1 (*L.C.L.*) [2] ἄλλας added by Fischer.

council chamber and the matter in dispute was referred to the session, Timoleon's personal enemies denounced him, while those more favourably inclined rallied to his cause and counselled letting him go free. While the investigation was still unsettled there sailed into the harbour from Syracuse the ambassadors who, having made known their mission to the senate, requested them to dispatch with all speed the general they needed. The session accordingly voted to send Timoleon and, in order to ensure the success of the project, they proposed a strange and amazing alternative to him. They affirmed categorically that if he ruled the Syracusans fairly, they adjudged him a tyrannicide, but if too ambitiously, a murderer of his brother.[1] Timoleon, not so much in fear of the threat imposed on him by the senate as because of his native virtue, administered the government in Sicily fairly and profitably. For he subdued in war the Carthaginians, restored to their original state the Greek cities which had been razed by the barbarians, and made all Sicily independent ; in a word, having found Syracuse and the other Greek cities depopulated when he took them over, he made them notably populous. 346/5 B.C.

These matters, however, we shall record severally below in their proper periods ; now we shall return to the thread of our narrative.

[1] Plutarch (*Timoleon*, 7. 2) puts this in the mouth of one Telecleides speaking before the assembly (δῆμος), not the senate.

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